

THE SOCIAL STUDIES

VOL. XXVII, No. 5

MAY, 1936

Democrats and Republicans, 1936

EDWARD MCCHESENEY SAIT

Pomona College

The presidential election appears to involve such momentous issues that, though still months distant, it has become a universal theme of discussion. Excitement will mount when the Republican convention meets at Cleveland on June 9. Upon the selection of a candidate and the drafting of a platform much depends, including Democratic strategy at Philadelphia two weeks later. Then will follow a long campaign, absurdly long if considered in terms of the transformed means of communication and the three-week period that is found quite sufficient in France and Great Britain. On November 3 the voters go to the polls. What will the outcome be?

I

So far in advance of the election it would be quite foolish to venture upon any definite prophecy. A shattered and disharmonious Republican party might make some fatal mistake at Cleveland and sacrifice advantages that are within its grasp. Who will be the candidate? What type of man? Such questions point to a capital defect in our political organization. The party leader should always be at hand, a leader who has survived the test of years and won his way to recognition, who is familiar with national problems and national politicians.

If we enter the House of Commons at London or Ottawa, there on the two front benches, always foremost in debate, we see the two leaders and their colleagues, the cabinet and alternative cabinet. We watch a contest that is intelligible and dramatic and that, through the play of personalities, continuously molds public opinion. In Canada the leader of the Opposition—the alternative prime minister—receives from the state the same salary as a member of the cabinet. There a pre-election poll would determine the relative strength of King and Bennett. Here the *Literary Digest* can only ask whether we are for or against the Roosevelt policies. A president is expected to lead his party, but the other party has no leader at all. Its leader suddenly emerges from the lottery of the national convention. If he is beaten in the election, he ceases to lead—like Hughes and Hoover; like Cox, Davis, and Smith. (Bryan is the solitary exception.) It is, therefore, much easier to forecast the results of a Canadian or British election. With us, even after the nomination, the voters must have time to make up their minds about a candidate who may scarcely be known outside his own state.

Some will deny that the outcome of an election can be predicted in advance

of the campaign. The expenditure of millions and the flood of oratory and literature, they contend, will determine the result. They liken the campaign to a litigation, where the empty minds of jurors are filled with evidence and argument and where the verdict is based altogether on what happens inside the courtroom. Does such a comparison reflect the actual rôle of the electorate? Nowadays, it is true, jurors are supposed to be empty-minded or at least open-minded when the trial begins. But at an earlier time they were witness-jurors, already familiar with the facts of the case and ready to pronounce an opinion. Voters resemble this ancient jury. They are under no obligation to see and hear nothing till the campaign begins; and what they see and hear—and feel—must make some kind of an impression. The mass-mind, however rudimentary, soaks up something from the environment.

In reality the voters have been watching the administration of President Roosevelt for three years and more. They have had ample opportunity to form conclusions about various aspects of the New Deal, if only on the basis of their prejudices. They have heard the evidence; and it would be strange indeed if they waited for the orators and pamphlets before taking sides. The great mass of voters commonly do take sides before the campaign has got under way. The campaign does little more than provide entertainment and confirm an existing faith. Of course, a small minority have no faith; they waver; perhaps propaganda or money converts them. In a very close election, it is said, such conversions may be decisive. Did not Cleveland win New York and the presidency because of Borchard's "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" speech; and did not Wilson win California and the presidency because of Hughes' coldness to Senator Johnson? In the main, however, the electorate has made up its mind before the great missionary enterprise gets under way. The politicians suffer from a delusion when they think that a million dollars more, another ton of tariff statistics, and another ten hours on a national radio hook-up would have turned defeat into victory.

No amount of campaigning has been able to stop the "swing of the pendulum," which has, since 1867, doomed British governments to defeat in the elections; or to interrupt an opposite tendency, of almost equal duration, in France. Similarly, the statistical studies of Charles H. Titus¹ seem to have established the existence of political rhythms which propaganda is helpless to control. Unless an American presidential election promises to be exceedingly close (which latterly has been the case in years ending in 6), the prognosticator need not worry much about the campaign. Unfortunately, he cannot ignore it in 1936.

II

The prognosticator cannot very well attempt a forecast unless he knows, if not the man, at least the type of man, and, if not the policies, at least the tendency of the platform, for each party. The Democrats already have a leader. Even if

¹ *Voting Behavior in the United States* (Publications in Social Sciences, Vol. 5, No. 1). Los Angeles: University of California, Southern Branch, 1935.

President Roosevelt were much less adroit and much less popular, his renomination would not be open to doubt. The logic of the situation demands it. But the Republican party—and the party includes, of course, not only the committeemen or official executives, but also the mass of enrolled voters who, in a third of the states, will themselves choose delegates to the nominating convention—is confronted with an alternative.

On the one hand, it might choose a conservative candidate. The rank and file of the party are more homogeneous and more conservative than they were before the disaster of 1932. That disaster took the form of a new schism; and the malcontents, instead of following the tactics of 1912, went right over to the Democratic candidate and, in many cases, actually enrolled as Democrats. Why not recognize the facts? Why not nominate James W. Wadsworth, perhaps the ablest and most experienced leader, and proclaim openly in the platform what conservatives privately think about the President and all his works? The parties would then be distinguished by more than labels. Critics could no longer denounce them as rival gangs, without principle or conscience, interested only in spoliation. But the critics have overlooked the fact that, if the major parties have been little more than different editions of the same book, the public shows no disposition to buy any other book. Norman Thomas is a well-advertised author; he does not write in the tradition of the demodé classics. But what about sales? They have constituted a negligible proportion of the total: seven-tenths of one per cent in 1928; two per cent in 1932. The American people still have a taste for the classics; that is, they still believe in the old art of compromise.

Nevertheless, there are many Republicans who believe that the party should raise a frankly conservative banner. Their recipe would ensure a defeat; but at this juncture defeat may be preferable to victory. Republican victory would enable President Roosevelt to escape the consequences of his own folly, attribute them to his successor, and come back in 1940. If a Republican president took office next January, confronted by a hostile Congress, his position would be, they say, pitiable. He would inherit chaos. He would have to choose between two unpopular courses, resorting either to taxation heavier than the country ever dreamed of or to undisguised inflation. Inflation, which is already under way, would afford the simpler solution. By adopting it, he would wipe out the colossal national debt. But at the same time he would wipe out all other debts, destroy what is left of the so-called middle classes, and reduce the whole land to misery. So, why not leave chaos to its creator and let him perish in it? Why not wait until the Roosevelt Utopia has tumbled down in utter ruin and until millions of disillusioned prodigals, returning to their old Republican home, plead abjectly for forgiveness?

To most politicians the question might almost read, Why not cut our own throats? They want power. Having experienced disaster, they will not welcome it again simply because of some ultimate and vague prospect of salvation. They want to be saved now; and for immediate salvation the strategy is obvious. It is familiar strategy. On the one hand, the disgruntled Democrats must not be re-

buffed. They must not be asked to oppose Roosevelt in favor of the same thing under another name. It is still more important that the strong conservative element within the party should not be left without some feeling of security. On the other hand, the main consideration is the winning back of millions of deserters, the healing of the Republican schism of 1932. Those millions cannot be won back by the promise of a second Hoover régime. Four years ago they traveled quite far to the left with Roosevelt, doubtless farther than they thought he would take them; and today the Republican party must also move leftwards and meet them half-way as they begin to extricate themselves from uncongenial surroundings. There is no danger that the Republican convention will overdo the leftward movement. The majority of the delegates, certain to be conservative in temper, will concede only what they feel to be necessary to recover traditional Republican strongholds and win a few agricultural states outside them.

No winning strategy can countenance the nomination of a conservative. For that reason the strongest men in the party have faded out of the picture. With the elimination of the conservatives the material is quite unlikely to arouse enthusiasm. To list the potential candidates and measure their popular appeal beside that of President Roosevelt would be invidious. Perhaps Senator Borah is an exception; but no matter how well he may fare in middle-western primaries, eastern Republicans can hardly excuse his manifold heresies. His record is against him; and other things besides, such as his age and the political insignificance of his state. The Republican party seems destined to have a weak candidate.

In passing, I might say that the chart of presidential elections since Lincoln's time should entail the elimination of Knox and Landon, Hoover and Roberts. According to the pattern to which Titus has drawn attention, the President can be defeated only by a legislator-type of candidate. Observe the rhythm: Grant was a specialist (soldier); Hayes (like his rival Tilden), an executive; Garfield, a legislator; Cleveland, an executive; Harrison, a specialist (soldier), and so on. Executives have alternated with specialists and legislators in a fixed order. If this rhythmic succession continues to hold good, a legislator will come to the presidency in 1936 or 1940.

Now, suppose that the Old Guard Republicans were invited to write the Democratic platform and make it express their candid views of the Roosevelt administration. With such a platform Roosevelt would not get one electoral vote. We advocate, the Democratic party would say, unlimited public expenditure as a means of precipitating national bankruptcy and opening the way to communism; inflation as a means of wrecking the middle class; the substitution of public for private enterprise; the dissemination of class hatred; the establishment of bureaucracy by vastly extending and debauching the civil service; the humiliation of the courts and the destruction of the constitution; etc. If the Philadelphia platform took such a form, there would be a unanimous return to normalcy.

But we have reason to believe that the Philadelphia platform will not be very different from the Cleveland platform. The signs and portents have already

begun to appear. The abundant life seems to have been forgotten. In spite of a definite promise to Upton Sinclair (or what Sinclair declares to have been such), the President has made no move to introduce "production for use." Criticism of the courts has ceased. Talk of economy and balanced budgets has taken its place. The businessmen's league, now being formed, will allay any apprehension that Roosevelt does not favor private enterprise.

A Democratic shift to the right need occasion no surprise. There are good reasons why the two major parties, while representing somewhat divergent economic tendencies, should travel near the middle of the road when they ask the voters to follow them. Their objective is the control of the presidency; and that control is established by getting, not a plurality of the popular vote throughout the country, but enough states to produce 266 electoral votes. Now, from the economic standpoint the states combine in a number of groups or sections of the country. In actual practice each party dominates a sectional area which, in large measure, determines the more fundamental lines of its policy. But this home territory provides only a base of operations. It yields only a part of the electoral votes that are needed. In order to win the election the party must appeal for support in sections lying outside its own domain and equally coveted by its rival. A candidate and a platform that would receive general support in the home territory might be quite unacceptable beyond the frontier. It is therefore necessary, by a process of compromise or dilution, to harmonize discordant interests; and, if several outlying sections must be included in the effort to secure an electoral majority, the original economic policies become very pale and anemic.

Should this process of compromise be denounced as a sacrifice of principle? It is justified and, in fact, imposed by the very nature of the democratic régime. Compromise is the essential feature of government by the people, whether compromise occurs before the election, as in the United States and Great Britain, or after the election, as in France and other multiple-party countries. Compromise before the election is much preferable, because the people then have an opportunity of giving a verdict upon it. The major parties must ask not only what the cotton-planters or dairymen or industrialists or proletarians want, but how they can satisfy a sufficient number of interest-groups, powerful in particular sections, and so obtain a majority in the electoral college. The platform is the least common denominator, as experienced politicians figure it out. It is bound to be rather watery. In a country of such size and diversity no single section and no scattered interest-group can hope to find complete satisfaction in a truly national platform.

In the present campaign the Republicans will play safe. Regretfully perhaps, they will resist the temptation to assault some of the most exposed Democratic salients or to fire some of their most deadly projectiles. Neutrals might get hurt. In this war neutral opinion still inclines towards the enemy; it must be conciliated in every possible way. Similarly, the Democrats will restrain the cruel propensities of their bashi-bazouks and keep their red-skinned allies from curdling capitalist blood with savage war whoops.

III

A sharp economic cleavage between Republicans and Democrats—rendered inevitable, some observers might suppose, by three years of the New Deal—is quite unlikely to occur. The exigencies of practical politics will force the combatants towards the middle of the road. But will there not be, then, a danger of desertions? May not large numbers of Democratic radicals and Republican conservatives refuse to leave their respective shoulders of the road, no matter how much the soft soil may impede their progress towards the White House? The prognosticator must ask whether there is likely to be anything comparable to the Populist movement of 1892 or the LaFollette movement of 1924.

Let us remember how rare such organized dissent has been. Like other English-speaking countries, the United States has steadily adhered to the two-party system. That system does not involve a complete and uninterrupted monopoly for the two parties. Great Britain, for example, has had a good deal of experience with minor parties, such as the Peelites, the Irish Nationalists, and the Liberal Unionists. At this moment the Liberals are trying to disguise their hopeless, moribund plight by repeating over and over again that a three-party system has supplanted the old two-party system. As in Canada and Australia, the obtrusion of a third party has always been temporary and transitional. In the United States minor parties have long been familiar. Recently they have grown in number, though not in power. In 1932 there were half a dozen, but they polled altogether only three per cent of the popular vote. Only three times since the Civil War have they assumed a formidable size or captured a single vote in the electoral college.

Still, in very close elections the vote of a minor party may be decisive. It was thus that Clay in 1844, Cass in 1848, and perhaps Blaine in 1884 lost New York and the presidency. In 1912 the Republican schism enabled Woodrow Wilson, with 42 per cent of the popular vote, to win forty states. This year the election promises to be close in quite a few states, and any considerable defection from Republicans or Democrats would settle the issue between them. There have been, however, no premonitory signs of such a defection. Conservative members of both parties are chiefly interested in beating Roosevelt, and therefore they cannot very well withhold support from a middle-of-the-road Republican ticket. Radicals who do not like President Roosevelt's swing to the right *may* solace themselves with the assumption that the retreat is, like Lenin's NEP, only a thing of the moment; and they *must* realize that, if they deserted the New Deal, Republican victory would be assured. Although the arrangements made next June may disappoint them, neither conservative nor radicals will carry dissatisfaction to the point of revolt. The radicals, in fact, have such various and conflicting aims that any sort of fusion, beyond a somewhat disillusioned backing of President Roosevelt, seems to be out of the question. It is probable that the major parties will have the field more or less to themselves and divide 95 per cent of the popular vote.

IV

The factors so far examined suggest that the presidential campaign will be conducted along the usual lines. In order to calculate the possible outcome it is necessary to recall successive phases of the party struggle since the days of Reconstruction. The panics of 1873, 1893, and 1929 assume some importance. They precipitated sudden changes in political control.

A period of Democratic revival and superiority begins with the tidal-wave of 1874 and ends with the avalanche or land-slide of 1894. True, the Republicans held the Senate for sixteen of the twenty years; but the Democrats held the House for the same length of time and polled a plurality of the popular vote for president four out of five times. The territorial distribution of party strength requires analysis. The Republicans dominated New England and their western birth-place, the four north-central states, along with Kansas and Nebraska. The Democrats held, even more securely, the Solid South and the five border states. Thus in 1880, when 185 electoral votes constituted a majority, the former could count on 85 secure votes; the latter, on 135. The deficit of 100 votes in the first case and 50 in the second had to be made good in the two chief doubtful areas: the four middle states (76 votes) and the three central states (58 votes). During this twenty-year period the Democrats won New Jersey and Delaware all five times, New York and Indiana three times, and Illinois once. They lost Ohio by very slender margins in 1876 and 1892.

The depression of 1893 introduced a remarkable change. Stunned by the débâcle of 1894 and the penetration of the Solid South by the Populists, the Democratic party transformed itself into a sort of farmer-labor party. The disastrous effects of this metamorphosis soon became apparent. The middle and central states, hitherto regarded as doubtful areas, passed into the Republican orbit, at least from the standpoint of presidential elections. The Republicans now dominated a solid block of seventeen states, these ensuring them until 1912 a majority of electoral votes and since that time just one less than a majority. A series of easy victories was interrupted by the Taft-Roosevelt schism; but, with the return to normalcy, in 1920, Republican predominance began to approach monopoly.

The Democratic party was displaying the pallor of death and, to all appearances, slipping into the grave. Bryan's western conquests of 1896—ten states which yielded no more votes than New Jersey and New York—proved ephemeral; the Republicans were soon fighting there on better than equal terms. Most sinister of all, the staunchly Democratic border now divided its allegiance. The emaciated party was being driven back upon the Solid South for a final, desperate stand. The 114 electoral votes of those ten states seemed secure, because the Solid South could not be broken without peril to white ascendancy. Outside the South what did the Democrats win? In 1920 they won Kentucky alone; in 1924, Tennessee and Oklahoma. The percentage of the popular vote sank ominously to 34 in 1920 and 29 in 1924. The plurality against them had risen

above seven millions. The moribund party was sadly fragmented: southern Democrats, who were native-born, Protestant, dry, and rural; northern Democrats of the metropolitan areas, who were foreign-born, Catholic, wet, and urban; and western Democrats, who did not fit into either of these categories. The party was consequently marked by dissensions and eccentricities.

Then fell the blow of 1928, which looked at first like a final blow. The whole border deserted, and along with it four states of the Solid South. Those walls, which had once been thought impregnable, suddenly crumbled. The South was no longer solid. If any comfort could be found in the midst of such a cataclysm, Massachusetts and Rhode Island provided it. These two states, right in the heart of Republican territory, had cast their lot with Al Smith, whose origin and attitudes appealed to the very strong element of foreign stock and Catholic religion. It is also true that the percentage of the popular vote had risen to 41. But the election was, nevertheless, a disaster. The time seemed ripe for winding-sheets and obsequies. Who could have foretold the miraculous resuscitation that occurred four years later? Hoover had won 40 states, 444 of 531 electoral votes, 58 per cent of the popular vote, and a plurality of almost 6,400,000. Raising his party from the dead, Roosevelt did even better in 1932: 42 states, 472 electoral votes, 57 per cent of the popular vote, and a plurality of more than seven millions.

V

Did this astonishing reversal merely reflect a new fluidity of public opinion, a new voting rhythm comparable to the swing of the pendulum in Great Britain? If not, what is the explanation? In the first place, the enlargement of the Republican party had increased its heterogeneity, emphasized factionalism, and encouraged revolt against the Old Guard and the eastern industrial interests, differing from the revolt of 1912 in the strategy followed. The dissidents entered the shell of the old Democratic party. But, in the second place, the revolt would not have occurred at that time or assumed such huge proportions except for the economic depression. The key to the existing political situation is the depression that followed the stock-exchange crash of 1929. No doubt, a depression leaves permanent scars. But, as it passes, other things recover besides business. The Republican party will recover. The depressions of 1873 and 1893, it is true, marked the beginning of new epochs; but in the first case it was the emergence of the Solid South, drawing the Border along with it, and in the second case it was the miscalculated strategy of Bryan that gave quasi-permanence to a momentary aberration. Today the Republican party is still suffering from the depression of 1929. But if it does not resort to powerful opportunistic stimulants, in the hope of strengthening its emaciated frame for the purposes of immediate victory, its health will steadily improve. Already there are plentiful signs of returning vigor. Certain straw votes establish at least a political tendency.

The authority of the *Literary Digest* polls is scarcely open to dispute. It rests upon a series of accurate predictions. We must agree that, while the popularity of the Roosevelt policies was greater in 1934 than in 1932, it declined with great

rapidity in 1935. The favorable percentage sank from 61 to 37, leaving Roosevelt in possession of only twelve states. For various reasons the Democrats profess to see little significance in the 63 per cent opposition. They contend that this opposition is heterogeneous, discordant, and more critical of reactionary Republicanism than of Democratic eccentricities; and that, if the voters had been asked to choose between the two parties, the reply would have been far different. Nevertheless, an analysis of the poll does indicate a resurgence of Republicanism. Where has the President suffered most from defection? The answer involves no long search of calculation. The most pronounced shift of opinion has occurred in the block of seventeen states which, barring the Republican schism of 1912 and Woodrow Wilson's capture of Ohio and New Hampshire four years later, remained steadfastly Republican between the depressions of 1893 and 1929. The Roosevelt percentage, falling as low as 20 in Maine and Massachusetts, reaches 40 only in Indiana (40.15) and Iowa (41.37). This block of states casts 265 electoral votes, just one short of a majority.

It must be acknowledged, of course, that opposition to Roosevelt does not necessarily imply an intention to vote the Republican ticket. The President has been too conservative for some of his early supporters. But the fact that dissent is so marked in this particular area does indicate a return to traditional allegiance. The great bulk of those now opposing Roosevelt are, it is safe to say, Republican prodigals. Wherever dissent rises as high as 60 per cent, therefore, Republican prospects must be fairly good. On this basis the Republicans may hope to win, in their traditional stronghold, every state but Iowa. Peculiar local conditions lead me, however, to exclude also Wisconsin and Minnesota, although Roosevelt fared badly there in the poll. Without these three states the Republican candidate would be thirty-five votes short of a majority. Can he possibly make good the deficit elsewhere? There are seven states—all western except Maryland—in which the anti-Roosevelt percentage runs from sixty to sixty-six. These cast a total of thirty-nine electoral votes.

The American Institute of Public Opinion also conducted a poll. In that poll about 200,000 votes were recorded, a tenth of the number cast in the *Literary Digest* poll. Roosevelt got 50.3 per cent; the Republicans, 43; and minor parties, 6.7. Roosevelt won 33 states, with 294 electoral votes, and stood on equal terms in three other states, with 80 electoral votes. But why should Roosevelt get 50 per cent in this poll and only 37 in the other? The reliability of the *Literary Digest* poll will be conceded. If the Institute poll also is reliable (though extending to a relatively small number of voters), the difference may rest upon the nature of the questions asked. Six months before the meeting of the Republican convention voters may know that they are dissatisfied with Roosevelt and yet be unwilling to say that they will abandon him in favor of the unknown. The Institute poll probably overstates the Roosevelt strength, although the extent of the error is a matter of guess-work. Now, supposing that in each state we take two from the Roosevelt percentage and give it to the Republicans, what do we find? Roosevelt still has a popular plurality in the country as a whole; but, just as in

the previous calculation, the Republicans win all but three states in their traditional homeland, or 231 votes. So far the two polls, as interpreted here, show a remarkable coincidence.

But where can the Republicans find the thirty-five votes that will give them a majority? In the light of the revised Institute figures the nineteen votes of Nebraska, Idaho, and Washington—Republican by the *Digest* poll—cannot be claimed. But both polls agree on Maryland, Colorado, and Wyoming with seventeen votes; and perhaps we are entitled to add West Virginia and Kansas, another seventeen votes, although the anti-Roosevelt *Digest* percentage there falls to 58. South Dakota's four votes would bring the total to 269. According to the *Digest* that state seems to be safely Republican; but according to the Institute (revised figures) the parties are equally divided

VI

Thus, by subjecting the two polls to a certain amount of arbitrary interpretation, it appears that Roosevelt may be beaten. Shrewd Republican observers will check their optimism at that point. They entertain a hope, but it is a hope that the swing back to normalcy, so notable last year, will continue up to election day. Has it already reached a culmination? Will it subside in the face of rivalries and antagonisms generated by the primary campaign? Again, where is the prospective candidate who could hold his own against the adroit and resourceful and persuasive President? If the Democrats have spent money recklessly, their extravagance has served the purpose of a huge campaign fund: it has created countless grateful beneficiaries and kept subsidized interests from attacking the administration. Nor is it easy to see how extravagance can be denounced without alienating classes that have profited by it. The Republican drift must be strong indeed to offset a Democratic plurality of 340,000 in the New York assembly elections of last November, especially as this is the President's state; up-state farmers must show an unaccustomed enthusiasm, and many Democrats below the Bronx must take a walk with Al Smith. The attitude of Lewis and the miners makes Pennsylvania itself insecure. Without those two states, the Republicans cannot win, but the Democrats can.

The election of President Roosevelt seems all the more probable when the consequences of successive depressions are compared. Almost identical phenomena followed the depressions of 1873 and 1893: an immediate tidal-wave, which reversed the position of the parties in the House, and then, in the next two elections, a considerable reduction of the big majority. The aftermath of 1929 was quite different. Instead of doubling their percentage of House seats all at once and afterwards meeting with losses, the Democrats gained ground in all three elections—54 seats in 1930, 94 in 1932, and 9 in 1934. Obviously the political defects of the present depression were abnormally delayed. This should work to Roosevelt's advantage.

The fact that in 1934 the Democrats strengthened—instead of relaxing—their hold on the House deserves special emphasis. Irrespective of depressions, it

has been the unbroken rule since the first quarter of the last century that the supporters of the administration lose ground in off years; and there is only one exception to a second rule that a party never loses control of the presidency without having lost ground in the previous House election. These rules, which are derived from long experience, point to the election of Roosevelt. Moreover, there is a third rule, broken in 1916, that the president always has a favorable House in the first half of his term. This rule points the same way; for there is little or no possibility that the huge, and indeed unparalleled, Democratic majority in the Seventy-fourth Congress can be swept away.

The situation might further be clarified by reference to state politics. It is impossible to ignore the persistence of Democratic legislative majorities in states that are normally Republican, especially in off-years. It is impossible to ignore the holocaust among Republican governors. These were reduced from 30 to 18 in 1930, and to eight in 1932. Republican tragedy lies in the fact that the number remained the same after the elections of 1934.

The re-election of President Roosevelt seems to be indicated. If the vote were taken at this moment, in the writer's opinion he would be fairly certain to get 27 states with 254 votes, and likely to get four others with 29 votes. He might do better than that and win New York at least by a very small margin. But any one who ventures such a forecast at this moment, March 16, 1936, should insist upon the privilege of revising it after the national conventions have adjourned next June.

Organizing a Senior High-School Unit for Studying the Presidential Election

LYNN M. BARRETT

University High School, Oakland, California

University High School, Oakland, California, a senior high school with an enrollment of 1,950 students, is used by the University of California for the training of candidates for secondary-teaching credentials in this state. One-fifth of the students live in neighboring cities and the balance consists of a cross section of a city of nearly 300,000 population. Over half of our graduates attend higher institutions of learning. This school is one of the two Pacific Coast schools that are members of the Progressive Education group. According to the state law all high-school students must complete a course in American History and Government; thus a number of classes are taught in these subjects. This paper contains suggestions that the author has used in the government course in teaching how a presidential election is conducted.

The Setting. 1936 being a presidential election year, we spent some time studying the selection of the national executive; whereas, for the next three years, little, if any, time will be devoted to the presidential, but rather to the state and local elections, which, in turn, will be slighted this year. Newspapers and magazines were filled with speeches, cartoons, pictures, political jokes, straw votes of various groups, public opinion polls, etc.—all of which provided materials for our bulletin boards, reports, debates and class discussions on the candidates, conventions, "favorite sons," pro and con of Republican, Democratic, and third party policies, and platforms and charges and denials of all kinds. All of these clippings were of great interest to the students because of their (1) home discussions, (2) reading, (3) radio talks, (4) movie screen reviews, (5) their vocabulary work, and (6) the political flurry in California where the Republican party was trying to recapture the state; the Democratic party divided into Sinclair Epics and McAdoo conservatives, yet trying to retain the state's electoral vote for their candidate; the Townsendites and their possible third party; and a minor Merriam-for-president boom as one self-seeking "favorite son." We secured, and used, day-old newspapers from the *Oakland Tribune* (a conservative Republican paper) and used these in scrap books, and for vocabulary, cartoons, and countless bulletin-board materials. We also intended securing a Democratic paper, but that was impossible in this vicinity. With such a setting, we were ready to study the election.

The Presidential Election of 1936. We started our class work with a review of the acts passed by the Roosevelt Administration, both those that have been found to be unconstitutional and those still on the statute books. The former group suggested the possibility that the next President would probably appoint a majority of the United States Supreme Court judges, due to the age of the

present incumbents, and of the probable "Constitutional" plea on the part of the Republican candidate. Likewise we examined many speeches, such as Al Smith's Liberty League, Joe Robinson's answer, Jim Farley's "Liberty League and its cellophane wrapper" and his other talks, Roosevelt's "State of the Union" at the opening of Congress, the many speeches of Herbert Hoover, and other prominent Republicans and Democrats who expounded the failures and successes of the Roosevelt Administration. We reviewed the 1932 platforms by using such articles as published in *The Scholastic*, September 24, 1932, to see whether or not the planks had been broken and the class decided whether, and why, this was good or bad.

During January, the campaign was rapidly getting under way and such organizations as the League of Women Voters, The Pro-American Group, The Liberty League, and many others started to get the voters to register. These political groups were aided by the newspapers, movies, and radio speakers who constantly emphasized the necessity of registering forty days before the primary. We took members of the class to the county court house and studied the maps of the election precincts, the great register and the individual registration blanks, and secured copies of the *California Election Laws* for class reference on technical election points.

During February and March, whenever a new move was made, the class studied the party organization in California. Our own district attorney was state chairman of the Republican party, and class interest was doubly high as we traced his moves. Likewise, we followed a Hearst-Landon-Merriam tie-up, attempting to secure a "pledged" delegation as opposed to the regular Republicans who desired an "uninstructed" delegation to the National Convention. The Democratic party also had its troubles, being divided between the liberal Sinclair Epics and the McAdoo conservatives.

In March, with the selection of party convention slates, we were ready to study the issues and candidates. We posted the various party tickets on the bulletin board for ready reference, in addition to past presidential election ballots from my own file. We studied our past political party history—preferably by chart form which showed that we have had a two-party history, with numerous third party movements. A modification of the chart appearing in the *The Historical Outlook** developed on the black-board easily explains this part of the work. This chart was compared with the many-party system in European countries. A very successful device, used repeatedly, has been to build the election ladder with each round marking a distinct step in the election which located the event as to (1) time, (2) purpose, (3) where held, (4) what happened, and including other information such as "bosses," "patronage," "campaign chest," "Tammany Hall," and countless other terms and phrases that need explanation. During this part of the work we used such books as Frank R. Kent, *The Great Game of Politics*;¹ Denis Lynch, "Boss" Tweed;² Riordon, *Plunkett of Tammany Hall*;

* XIX (April, 1928), 168-169.

¹ New York: Macmillan Co., 1924.

² New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927.

Brand Whitlock, *The Gold Brick*; *Big Matt*;³ *The Thirteenth District*; Dermot Cavanagh, *Tammany Boy*;⁴ and many others of a similar type. Bibliographies of such books were made available for the students and they did the rest. At times, selected prose and poetry were read in class.

In May when the California Presidential Primary occurs, we will study how it works to secure party officials, chairmen, "keynoters," etc. Such books as Kent, *The Great Game of Politics*; James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*;⁵ and William B. Munro, *Government of the United States*,⁶ will be consulted to determine "why great men are not chosen for president"; how to balance the ticket; why cities bid for the conventions; why so many candidates have come from Ohio, etc. Whenever a new candidate tossed his hat into the ring we studied his qualifications and what he had done. This could very well be achieved by having different committees collect pictures of and make analyses of the candidates, and present their policies in a panel discussion before classes or at a student-body assembly. We coöperated with the school paper by writing editorials and opinions about the work and qualifications of the various candidates in the field.

As soon as the sample ballots appeared we had the students get these from their home so that each person had his own copy, and we checked the different parts of the ballot, how we voted in this state, in our city, and in our school. Preferential voting of various types could profitably be studied at this time, if desired.

As the Convention does not occur before school closes, we could only examine the mechanics of one. Selections from Will Rogers, *The Illiterate Digest*,⁷ were used to illustrate the 1924 Democratic convention. (Some classes had mock conventions, but from my experience they are not recommended in the senior high school.)

During the summer vacation the teacher should plan to collect newspapers containing the convention materials, campaign literature, jokes, pictures, speeches, the platform, polls, straw votes, etc. for fall use. With the opening of school the straw votes will be graphically presented by using colored chalks on a black-board outline map, which is changed as sentiment, determined by new polls, shows a changed public opinion. The students conduct their own straw votes, in conjunction with the school paper, among the student body and post these results a day or two before the election. Valuable projects will be worked out with these numerous collected materials. For the last California state election, the following class project plan was used. This type of an assignment provided for individual differences in that each student was able to emphasize that part of the work in which he was especially interested and put a minimum of effort, or none at all, on other parts of the project. As a rule any booklet that was handed in was given a passing grade, but to make grading easier an attempt at weighting the different materials was made in order that each part would be given an

³ New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1928.

⁴ New York: Macmillan Co., 1923.

⁵ New York: Boni & Liveright, 1924.

⁶ New York: Sears Publishing Co., 1928.

⁷ New York: Macmillan Co., 1931.

approximate value toward the total score. This weighting of the different parts was explained to the students in advance. The raw scores enabled one to secure an adequate class distribution for such purposes as were desired. Unless otherwise stated, the score before each of these items would be the maximum score permitted for that item. You will note that one-half of the score was made by the student's own individual work and the other half was determined by the different sections of the booklet that the student collected. This booklet was collected over six-weeks time and was compiled partly at home and partly during the periods at school.

AN INDIVIDUAL CLASS PROJECT FOR THE 1934 CALIFORNIA STATE ELECTION

<i>Points credited</i>	<i>Items suggested for the booklet</i>
2 each	1. Pictures of the different candidates.
5 each	2. A thumb-nail sketch of each candidate.
30	3. Campaign literature—samples of the different types that are used, i.e. pamphlets, stickers, Sinclair "money," etc.
75	4. Newspaper clippings—a maximum of 15 points credited to each political party in the election, i.e. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Republican—Branding Sinclair as a "communist" "agent of Moscow," "atheist," etc. and the materials that promoted Merriam's campaign. Democratic—Epic News; relation to national party; Farley; Roosevelt and the "New Deal." Commonwealth—Work of Haight; note radio talks. Communist—visit the headquarters for literature. Socialist—why opposed to Sinclair.
3 each	5. Catch words underlined from newspaper clippings and defined in your own words in political terms. 3 points for each correctly defined word, that showed a relationship to this election, 1 point if the word was not defined. A minimum of 25 words was required and a maximum of 100 words was permitted.
25 each	6. Party platforms explain what each party planned to do. (These were printed in the school paper.)
10	7. Outline of the "Epic" plan of the Democrats.
3 each	8. Straw vote tallies—U.N.I.: <i>Literary Digest</i> , etc.
1 each	9. Cartoons—explain the point of the cartoon: if the cartoon is not explained then 1 credit will be given for each three (3) cartoons submitted that related to the election.
5 each	10. Sample ballot—proposed amendments to the constitution (an analysis of each amendment with arguments pro and con was also done).
10	11. Draw a diagram of the voting booth and explain how one votes (the purpose here is to have the students visit the polling place).
10	12. Secure the election results in your home precinct, these could be recorded on your sample ballot.
5 each	13. Election results—the governorship; state legislature; amendments; U. S. Congress; others; map counties carried by each candidate for governor.
25	14. Any other materials that are not mentioned here.
25 each	15. Your reaction—cartoon, essay, poem, etc. to our study of the election (several topics were suggested).
25 each	16. A novel or biography read and reported on (bibliographies were given each student).
50 each	17. The make up of the book itself—neatness, etc.

If we lived in a community where a spirited congressional campaign was being conducted some emphasis would be placed here, otherwise only passing comment would be needed for the candidate. If the class was carrying on the above book project the campaign would be studied as the booklet was being developed. Otherwise, the balance of the presidential campaign with its radio talks, billboards, etc., would be studied as the events occurred. An excellent device that has been used is to set up actual or hypothetical cases or problems that would emphasize the points we wished to study. For example, the following problem was typical of many that were used in our class.

How does party machinery help the party to secure control of the governmental machine?

a. What is a political party? What parties do we have in the U.S. today? In California? Their platforms? Leaders? Party symbols?

b. What is the work of the party in selling itself to the nation's voters?

c. Examine the party platforms and present arguments for or against either or both parties as you see them from their statements

H. A. Spindt and F. L. Ryan, *The Foundations of American Government* 95-96^{*}

F. A. Magruder, *American Government*, 401-404;^{*} William B. Munro, *Government of the United States*, 369-372; *Readers Digest*, September 1932; *New Republic*, July 27, 1932; *Scholastic*, September 24, 1932, 23.

d. What is meant by the statement that the "party organization is a net work of committees arranged in a pyramid form, organized from the bottom up, but worked from the top down—that is, policies of the party and instruction in the campaigns emanate from the national organization." Diagram the various party committees in question, show how each works and its importance.

Spindt & Ryan, 97-98; Magruder, 400.

(Similar problems were developed for the entire election study and they worked as classroom devices, as test questions, assigned written work, etc.)

When the November election day arrives take the class to visit the nearest voting precinct. Have a committee provide each student with a list of questions which can be used for a follow up of the trips after you return. For an assignment, have the students visit a polling place just as the voting closes to see what is done, to watch the counting of the votes, and also to bring to class the next day a copy of the election returns in this precinct, together with any election materials left by the officials. Likewise, have the class listen to the radio returns and the next day re-color the blackboard map on the basis of the returns as compared to the pre-election forecast. At the last election, one boy brought to class a copy of the gambling odds as posted in San Francisco.

What Might Have Been? After analyzing the popular and electoral vote it is interesting to study the constitutional provisions (amendment 12) that operate when no candidate secures a majority vote in the electoral college. Such a study illustrates the possibility of having a president and vice-president of different parties; of having a deadlock and no president or vice-president elected; of having a direct popular vote; and of having an electoral vote based proportionally upon the popular vote cast, etc. The 1924 election can be used as an excellent illustration of these points.

A good summary and review for this work is to develop a blackboard chart showing the relationship between the different branches of our government and how each department is selected for office. The author developed such a chart

^{*} Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1929.

^{*} New York: Allyn & Bacon, 1932.

some years ago and it was printed in the *University High School Journal*.¹⁰ These charts were also printed on large posters and used on the classroom bulletin board. Personally, I think that such devices are the easiest method for teaching governmental organization.

The Follow-Up. Between the election and inaugural dates, we study the expected cabinet officers; the removal of the defeated candidate from the White House, if this is the case; White House etiquette. With the meeting of the newly-elected congress and the state legislature we have the messages of the governor and the president, and then we are ready to start a new study of current affairs based upon the current topic of the state and national-legislative program.

A social-studies unit, as outlined above, will not be found to be dead subject matter in a textbook, but live materials based upon a day-to-day development in the political situation about us. Such a study will always keep the teacher and the class on their toes for new developments as the presidential campaign takes form and is carried to its completion.

¹⁰ February, 1929; 283-285.

How Political Parties Are Presented in the University of Chicago High School

ROBERT E. KEOHANE

University of Chicago High School

For more than ten years a course devoted to American Political Institutions (A.P.I., for short) has been taught to seniors in the University of Chicago High School. Like the other social-studies courses, the course in A.P.I. is organized and taught on the unit plan; practically all of the methods and techniques described in this article are characteristic of the step which Morrison has labeled assimilation.¹ The content of the course is organized into the following eight units:

- I. Government in the modern world.
- II. How our government system developed.
- III. The "Consent of the governed."
- IV. How our governments determine policies.
- V. How our governments carry out policies.
- VI. How the bills are paid.
- VII. The United States and the family of nations.
- VIII. Citizenship.

A critical review of Carl L. Becker's *History of the United States: An Experiment in Democracy*,² and a term paper on a political subject chosen by the pupil are required in the first and second semesters, respectively.

The systematic treatment of the meaning of democratic government and of the organization, functioning, and proposed reforms of political parties and elections constitute the unit on the "consent of the governed." Here the study of textbooks and the reading of specialized works, magazines, and newspapers, are combined with the direct experiences of visiting precinct-polling places during the registration of voters and on election day. The latter ensures concreteness and reality unobtainable second-hand, while the wider study which precedes personal contacts makes the individual's small segment of experience understandable.

Before the student begins this unit he has gained some understanding of the importance of government in the modern world and of the meaning of representative democracy, constitutional government, local self-government, and our

¹ For a description of the social-studies curriculum in October, 1934, see R. E. Keohane and H. C. Hill, "The Social-Studies Curriculum in the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools," *Fourth Yearbook; National Council for the Social Studies: The Social Studies Curriculum* (Philadelphia: McKinley Publishing Co.), 176-193. For an exposition of the unit plan see H. C. Morrison, *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, revised edition, 1931); for a detailed exposition of this technique applied to the social studies see R. B. Weaver and H. C. Hill, *United States History by Units*, (Chicago: W. F. Quarrie Co., 1933).

² New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927.

federal system, but he has not taken up the details of the organization and functioning of our governments. Since few of the pupils have had any American history other than that given in the sub-freshman year, we begin the work of the unit with the history of American party principles, policies, and leaders as portrayed in the most important presidential elections. When this has been mastered, the pupil turns his attention to the actual functioning of party machinery in Chicago and Cook County, and compares it with the situation in other great cities; then he finds out how parties are organized and how they function in the state and national fields. Inextricably interwoven with this is the study of nominations, elections, and campaign methods. Finally the pupil evaluates a number of methods proposed for improving our party and electoral systems.

Fundamental among the pupil activities is reading, which is varied and extensive. As no textbook is used in the course, the student finds his references in the classroom and in the school library. For the history of parties he depends chiefly upon Charles A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*,³ Robert C. Brooks, *Political Parties and Electoral Problems*,⁴ and a selected list of high school textbooks in American history. For the local picture, he reads a pamphlet by G. W. Fairweather, *Wanted: Intelligent Local Self-Government*,⁵ and a mimeographed account of the activities of a Chicago precinct captain well-known to the writer. On "bosses" and "machines" in other cities Frank R. Kent, *The Great Game of Politics*,⁶ Harold Zink, *City Bosses in the United States*,⁷ Morris R. Werner, *Tammany Hall*,⁸ Orth, *The Boss and the Machine*, Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* and *Autobiography*,⁹ and the second volume (unabridged), of James Bryce's *American Commonwealth*¹⁰ furnish a wealth of material. The *Illinois Voters' Handbook*¹¹ furnishes material on state parties and elections. Murray Seasongood's *Local Government*¹² gives the better readers a good account of the possibilities of reforming city government by reforming party systems. Sample ballots, campaign literature, official election signs, and similar materials illustrate phases of the work. A number of books which are available in only a few copies furnish excellent materials for short oral reports upon concrete aspects of the actual functioning of the party system—segments of the whole—which properly directed discussion helps to integrate as illustrations of important generalizations. Short lectures or explanations by the instructor are necessary in some phases of the work because of the lack of suitable materials, or the supply of vivid examples to illustrate various phases of party activity. Discussions, especially upon controversial matters, become animated, and some time is devoted to direct instruction in the legal methods of marking a ballot in Illinois.

Written work is reduced to a minimum. The students are expected to keep a Civic Manual consisting largely of brief notes on reading, lectures, and reports.

³ New York: Macmillan Co., 1924.

⁴ Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

⁵ London: Cambridge University Press, 1930.

⁶ New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931.

⁷ Illinois League of Women Voters.

⁸ New York: Harper & Bros., 1923.

⁹ Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1930.

¹⁰ Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928.

¹¹ New York: Macmillan Co., 1923.

¹² Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933.

A chart showing the development of parties, their principles, and their leaders is made a part of the work. Diagrams to clarify the hierarchy of party committees and conventions are put on the blackboard and drawn by the pupils. An outline of the chief campaign methods and an outline of or a short essay upon the ways in which our party methods may be reformed are also required. Most important of all, a critical paper based upon Fairweather's suggestions for reforming the party system in Cook County is written and discussed in class. Tests are employed within and at the end of the unit; and when the assimilation period is ended, a comprehensive sentence or paragraph-summary organization outline of the unit is written from memory in a fifty-minute class period.

Sometimes activities of civic organizations in our community contribute admirably to the understanding of this unit. This year the local Y.M.C.A. sponsored a lecture by Henry Bentley, one of the leaders of the Cincinnati Charter group. More than half the members of our A.P.I. classes attended it, and some of those who had been prematurely cynical about municipal reform return with the realization that it is, after all, possible. Before each election our local League of Women Voters sponsors a candidates' meeting, which our students may attend in order to get a face-to-face impression of the seekers after political office.

Most interesting of all, however, is the change of viewpoint which often accompanies the student's visit to the polling places. Each pupil visited a polling place on registration day to see what it was like, to find out just what happened when a person registered, and to learn what he could about the election officials and the party workers who congregated there. Most of the young investigators were well received, though one boy in astonishment at his classmates' success exclaimed ruefully, "I was thrown out of one place and politely asked to leave another." Extracts from students' written reports illustrate the vividness and variety of their impressions:

The most important occupation seemed to be that of hand-shaking; this was carried on by the precinct captains and their associates. . . . These assistants do odd jobs such as holding the ladies' bundles while they (the ladies, not the bundles) are sworn in for registration. . . .

He (the precinct captain) said that he does political work merely because of his love of it. He also gave me a very short list of the kinds of political work he does, but it seemed so incomplete and superficial as not to be worth recording.

I asked for the Democratic captain; however I started a row between the regular man and the Horner man, who, though a great, big, fellow, did not have the moral support of anyone else present. It was finally decided, however, that the Horner man had already done too much talking (the Republican judge, being impartial, handed down the decision), and I was given the name of the regular democratic captain.

When a woman from an apartment above the registration place came down, Mrs. M. . . . asked her if she were going to register. The woman replied that she was not and went away. This led to a discussion of the lack of appreciation of people who receive favors.

One girl who had, apparently, thought of "politicians" as members of an underworld apart was shocked to find that "the upholder of the Grand Old Party had lived next door to me all of my seventeen years, and had many times beguiled me with the 'tick-tock' of his tremendous watch when I was a youngster

in hair-ribbons. . . . To discover that this benevolent individual was a precinct captain was somewhat of a shock, but not nearly so much of a shock as to find out that the lady who lived in the house on the other side, and who had frequently presented me with delicious cookies and so forth was the Democratic captain!"

During the April primaries, class members will again visit the polling places to observe the process of election. A few have already tried to get credentials as watchers; last year one boy helped to watch the count in one of the most corrupt precincts of the ward. After the election all students will be expected to fill out a "political address," which will contain, in addition to the numbers of their wards, precincts, senatorial and congressional districts, the names of their legislative representatives and of their ward committeemen and precinct captains.

The study of political parties does not end with the classroom and field work described above. In harmony with the principle of "controlled repetition," the significance of political parties is considered in the study of later units. For example, Unit IV begins with a consideration of how some of the great issues of our party history were translated into action and law after the party advocating them had come into power. The formation of legislative districts, the merit system in public service, the organization of a legislature, and many other important topics require an understanding of political parties for their explanation. In the last unit, the service which the individual may make to the cause of better government through his participation in party politics is emphasized.

Methods and Techniques in the Teaching of Political Parties

WILLIAM H. MORRIS

High School, Lewes, Delaware

Not long ago our town held an election for mayor and two members of the town commission. Previous to this the students in the problems class of our high school gladly seconded the suggestions of voting on the names of the candidates who had presented themselves. "But how are we going to know which man to vote for? We don't know anything about them." The outcome was that several students interviewed at least some of the candidates personally. On the basis of this and other knowledge we were able to secure, we discussed the rival candidates and factions before voting. It so happened in this case that the results of the school election approximated the results of the actual town election.

This incident is cited to illustrate at least two fundamental principles in the classroom study of political parties. First, it seems essential, or rather most fruitful, to originate the study in the community. This, of course, involves the well-known educational tenet that learning must proceed from the interest of the pupil—learning does not take place in a vacuum. Here as elsewhere, it proceeds from the concrete to the abstract. Beginning a study of political parties with a town election, however, requires a certain degree of timing. No doubt, it is possible to make use of other incidents in local affairs which will stimulate effort towards a more comprehensive knowledge, rooted in the concrete interests of the pupil.

The second principle which might be accepted as an assumption is that learning of this sort can probably best originate in current problems. In reality, this is closely related to the idea set forth above. Thus, the presentation of political parties begins at home and in the present, both factors being a part of the pupil's existing knowledge.

As a corollary, might it not also be assumed that an activated presentation has greater possibilities than the passive sort? It seems fairly well established that interest may be best aroused and extended where activity on the part of the pupil is involved. This provides not only an end in itself but also a means to a larger end when we consider the whole scheme.

What is the whole scheme? What are our aims here, since methods axiomatically depend on aims? Can we say that a minimum aim is an attempt to overcome ignorant prejudice and blind partisanship? We generally assume the necessity of arriving at impartial conclusions in any case where education takes place but the need is especially acute when considering political parties. All the parties cannot be right in all respects. In truth what it amounts to finally, for the student, is acceptance of a partisan stand after an impartial consideration of the facts—a difficult task, to say the least. Yet there's the oyster. An additional aim

might well be the development of a constructive concern in place of the cynical distrust which often exists about our political organizations. Of a still higher order is the aim of understanding the constant flux in substance, of party platforms, and the attendant fact that much party criticism is pure partisanship rather than any fundamental cleavage on principle. From this flows what seems to the writer to be the highest order of aim—the cool analysis of the claims and proposals of the rival parties. This is our minimum aim raised to a higher power and applied.

Now all these aims mean one thing, that we must get at the substance rather than the form. Is the article what the label says it is? We must get below the surface. We must get at the truth, which is the aim and end of all education. Applied to a study of political parties, it means that there must be political realism—the party orators, the party platforms, to say nothing about lobbies, pressure groups, or propaganda. Yet how can pupils arrive at the true substance without considering such matters? It is obvious that a wide gap exists in the American political system, between the theory and practice of our political arrangements. In order that the future citizen should not be disillusioned, it seems imperative that the realities of the arrangements be presented. Parties might then be observed in relation to government as an adjustment of actual human relation. Only thus will true meaning become apparent. Only thus will our aims be served.

Another prime consideration for serving our aims revolves around the necessity of plumbing the pasts of the political parties, not only the present truths but the past truths. Are the parties all they say they are? Not until this phase of the subject is treated is it possible to get at the substance of our political parties.

At this point it is apropos to mention one or two hindrances which must be encountered. Probably the greatest difficulty is that of overcoming parental influences. Of course it is perfectly possible that a student will arrive at the same conclusion after analysing our party system and the claims of all the parties. But the method is more important than the conclusion. It is well known that Republican fathers beget Republican offspring and that Democratic husbands usually have Democratic wives. For our presentation of political parties to be successful, however, this influence must be torn down. The minds must be unshackled. That is why this influence constituted a difficulty, a hindrance in light of our aims.

A second hindrance which seems to block the evolution of balanced consideration of our political parties is the widespread belief that politics is dirty; that parties are crooked and the tools of special interests. And here is the unfortunate part. Why bother with them? Why talk about them? Nothing can be done. This attitude, it seems to the writer, must be combated if our ends will be served. Our treatment of political parties must involve a revivification of spirit, a reorientation of interest.

Assuming that our aims are wholesome, that our methods are set up with consideration to political realism, without attempting to coördinate these very much, let us turn from the more general methods to somewhat specific techniques,

giving brief explanation where it seems necessary. Test and model elections have already been mentioned. Here the general idea is carried out of developing vicarious experiences for the coming citizen. This procedure gives practice in participation in the course of affairs as well as serving as a point of orientation for the study. An activity which also serves the latter end is an excursion to the state legislature, where this is possible. This is a step in widening the sphere of interest from the local community, where the party labels have little significance, to the national domain, where there exists a fairly continuous policy on the part of the parties. Thus the point is made that the precinct is the working unit of the party organizations.

For securing party viewpoints, speakers from the local organization will prove interesting. Or reverse the process, and students may interview the party leaders, and perhaps report on this in the school newspaper. Of a similar nature is correspondence with the state and national senators and representatives. It may be that a student is interested in a particular issue and wants the senator's viewpoint.

Meanwhile, a cartoon contest might be conducted with some selected subjects involving the parties, their candidates, or contentions. Our most recent contest was won by a cartoon which lampooned the Administration's Potato Control Bill. Other students may be interested in making a scrap-book of party personalities and leaders. The former easily coördinates with the art department of the school.

If the social-studies course can approximate a laboratory where the raw materials of the study are collected and organized, party speeches and platforms will quickly make their appearance. A most interesting and valuable technique is the analysis of editorials from newspapers which represent the different party viewpoints, and even divergences within the parties. On the basis of absolutely the same facts, two newspapers arrive at quite divergent viewpoints. With this conception of the social-studies class, panel discussions and forums are quite a logical development. An especially theatrical technique is the presentation of a party viewpoint in the form of a stump speech. Either students or the teacher can successively present the party viewpoints in general, or on a particular issue or measure. These can be done straight or in burlesque. As an advanced type of technique, they seem quite effective. More advanced in nature is the study of such writers as Frank Kent, Lincoln Steffens, Peter Odegard, and others for a realistic discussion of the parties, their methods and history.

In summarizing, we observe that from the first set of considerations—general methods of presenting political parties—political realism is a vital factor, with the presentation originating with current problems in the community, on an activity basis. From the second set of considerations—specific techniques—we observe that the social-studies classroom becomes a laboratory where a variety of activities center, ranging from album-making to the advanced study of historical developments and the analysis of partisan claims and party-machine functioning.

Teaching Political Citizenship in the Schools

C. C. BARNES

Head, Department of Social Sciences, Detroit Public Schools

The cities of the United States furnish ideal conditions for the study of democratic processes. The varied social classes, the heterogeneous population recruited from all parts of the world, and the complicated governmental structure put a considerable strain upon the theory of the competency of the citizens to run their own affairs.

And yet we live under a democratic form of government. Democracy depends upon the development of a high standard of intelligence and a wide diffusion of knowledge. In a country like ours, where the sovereign power is vested in the whole body of citizens, it is vital that all citizens should be informed on civic affairs and able to think for themselves.

And yet in a country which boasts of universal suffrage, we have great numbers of voters who are not well informed and who do not think for themselves. The following dialog between a woman voter and an election official was overheard recently in a voting place:

Woman Official: (To woman voter who had just entered, leading a two-year-old child.) Name?

Woman Voter: Mrs. Jones.

Woman Official: Address?

Woman Voter: 1080 Main Street. (Woman voter goes toward official who is distributing ballots.)

Woman Official: Just a minute! Are you a Republican or Democrat?

Woman Voter: (Hesitatingly) Why, I don't know. Neither, I guess.

Woman Official: Well, you've got to be one or the other. Which will you be? Republican? (Writes in book.)

Woman Voter: Why-uh-my father was a Democrat, so maybe I'll be that too. (Starts to move toward ballots.)

Woman Official: Oh, dear, would you mind being a Republican? I've already written that down in the book, and it's such a bother to change. You don't care do you?

Woman Voter: Oh, sure not! Give me anything. (She goes on to receive a Republican ballot.)

While this may not be a typical example of an American voter it is all too common. Too many voters think they have done their patriotic duty in a democratic country when they go through the motions of voting in this manner. It was no doubt conditions like this that caused the social-science department of the Detroit schools about fifteen years ago to introduce into its program a period of instruction on the meaning and method of elections as a part of its training in citizenship. This decision was also based on the belief that young Americans in the junior and senior high schools can acquire stocks of learning which will later function to guide principled and intelligent civic participation. The more specific purposes or aims of election instruction in the schools may be stated as follows:

1. The first aim is to help form the habit and to teach the significance of the exercise of franchise.

One of the evils in a democracy is the unwillingness or neglect on the part of a great many citizens to perform their greatest civic duty by going to the polls at every primary and election day. The mere annual practice of a pupil marking and casting his ballot will not correct this evil but it is believed that the significance attached to voting in the instructional period preceding the election will tend to emphasize the importance of voting.

2. A second aim is to show the pupil the importance of being informed on public matters before exercising the franchise.

The pre-election discussion in the social-science classes tends to emphasize this. Through the study of the various issues in a campaign the pupils come to see the difference between voting intelligently and marking a ballot by mere chance. The development of political intelligence is a high purpose in election instruction in the schools.

3. A third aim is to teach the political organization of city, county, state, and nation.

On alternate years the pupils have the experience of voting the party and non-partisan ballot. They are brought face to face with the large number of officials to whom the business of government is entrusted. They begin to compare the processes of electing different officers. Thus government becomes more real to the citizen who helps to manage it.

4. A fourth aim is to give pupils training in judging newspaper and magazine statements pertaining to public elections and in judging the qualifications of candidates.

This is one of the most important purposes of election training in the schools. The pupils bring to class clippings from all newspapers. These articles give various views on issues and candidates. It is a purpose of this pre-election study to help the pupil to understand that a newspaper may sometimes give but one side of the question. In the class discussions all sides of the question are discussed and the pupil is thus aided in making a thoughtful decision. It is generally recognized that too much voting is done on the basis of prejudice, emotion, and one-sided or inadequate knowledge of issues and candidates. The correction of this evil is one of the purposes of the school-election project.

5. A fifth aim is to establish standards in the minds of citizens that will guide them in the selection of the right kind of public officials and in passing judgment on public issues.

There are certain standards by which candidates for public office should be measured or judged. Most persons who are concerned with the question of democratic government will agree in general with the following test: (1) What are the duties assigned to the office in question? (2) What qualifications should the candidate possess who aspires to fill that particular office? (3) Which of the candidates available is best fitted for the place?

In dealing with public issues voters might well be guided by such questions

as: (1) What is the purpose of the measure? (2) How would the measure affect the community as a whole? (3) What would likely be the future results of such a measure on the local community, the state, or the nation?

The study of election procedure in the Detroit schools takes place once a year during the months of September, October, and November. The study period is not three months long, of course, but the attention of the class is directed to various stages in the elective process from time to time during the period.

The first point for study is the fall primary, which usually occurs in September. At this time it is pointed out how important the primary is in the selection of public officials. It is shown that if the right kind of persons are chosen as candidates it does not matter so much who is elected later.

As soon as the primary election is over, work is started on the November election project. This work is divided into three phases—registration, pre-election discussion, and voting.

Registration. In every phase of the school election the procedure as required by state law is followed as closely as possible. Every pupil is required to register before he can vote. A particular period is designated as registration time. Since Michigan has a permanent-registration law, the schools have adopted a similar system. A student's registration card is on file as long as he remains in a particular school. He must have his card transferred or he must re-register when he enters another school.

Pre-election Instruction. Probably the most important part of the entire project is the instruction which takes place before election day. During this period pupils collect various types of material. All this material is discussed in class. In addition to the discussion of the political campaign, election procedure is explained by the teacher. The pre-election instruction is graded. Instruction begins in grade six. In this grade the work is very simple, consisting of little more than an explanation of the meaning of elections, how to register, and how to mark a ballot. As the pupil progresses through the grades of junior and senior high school new material is added, until all phases of election procedure have been discussed. In the pre-election discussion of candidates and issues, free discussion is permitted so long as the procedure does not degenerate into a prejudiced discussion of personalities. It is assumed that every teacher competent to conduct such instruction with classes will realize the impropriety of expressing committal to a party platform or to a candidate, or attempt in other ways to prejudice the thought and action of students on political issues.

The Election. The election in the schools is conducted on the regular election day in the city. In preparation for this day, ballots are printed for school use and election officials are trained in the schools. The ballots that are used in the schools are printed by the Board of Education and are identical with the regular city ballots except that they are marked "Detroit Public School Ballot." The names of the actual candidates are used. Except for the one teacher who has general charge of the election in the school, all work is done by the pupils themselves. The voting is supervised, the ballots are counted, and the results are re-

ported by phone to the central office where they are totaled for the 250 schools (approximate number) of the city. At the election in November, 1935, more than 100,000 pupils voted.

Many people speak of the school election as a "mock" election. Of course it is a mock election in the sense that the vote does not count in the election or defeat of candidates, but on the other hand it is a very real election to most of the pupils. Also, the fact that the results of the school election are published in all the city papers tends to give the event an air of reality. It has been a common saying in Detroit in recent years that "As the schools vote so will the city." With very few exceptions the results of the school election and those of the city are the same. This would seem to indicate that pupils vote as their parents do, but those familiar with the situation know that in many instances pupils help to determine the vote of their parents. As yet no scientific study has been made to determine the effect of school instruction on the political attitudes of citizens in later years. However, the examination of results that have been available is so pleasing and encouraging that the school-election project is being given a definite place in the social-science program of the schools of the city.

In a statement issued recently, Oakley E. Distin, Chief Supervisor, City Election Commission for Detroit, said in part:

The instruction being given to students in Detroit schools will, I am sure, result in a more intelligent electorate when these students attain their majority and, as a matter of fact, many of the older generation are now being accompanied to the registration and election bureau by their children who are sufficiently informed to instruct them as to the proper course of procedure.

I wish to compliment the Board of Education on the method in which the school elections are being conducted. It is not only arousing a keen civic interest among the youngsters, but a much greater interest is also being manifested by the parents who have not given much thought to matters of public concern heretofore.

The following statements selected from a large number that have been received from pupils and teachers reveal what they think of the election project.

One pupil said, "I never understood what registration meant before, even when we studied about it in the civics class."

Another said, "When I began collecting pictures of the candidates and asking my father about them, the whole family began talking election."

One teacher reported that, "Everyone was anxious to vote. The only ones who did not vote were those who were absent or who had not registered. We made quite a point of registration."

Another teacher said, "I am sure the time spent on the instruction was worthwhile. The class has a much better knowledge now of the duties of the city officers and also what is expected of the voter at the polls."

One principal sums up the values of the election instruction in the following statements:

"It helped the children to a better understanding of the qualifications of various city officials.

"It led to discussion in the homes that would arouse citizens to participate in the election.

"It taught the children to follow certain issues in the newspapers and to develop definite opinions regarding them.

"It gave a clearer conception of the mechanics of voting.

"It showed the necessity for logical reasoning in defending their choice of candidates."

This is the method by which the Detroit public schools are attempting to educate its boys and girls in political citizenship. How well we have succeeded, we cannot very well say. We do know that at the last presidential election nearly ninety per cent of the registered voters went to the polls and voted. Also, Detroit is rated as one of the best-governed cities in the country. Election instruction in the schools may be partially responsible for this record.

Administration: The Fourth Power in Modern Government*

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Amherst College

What is "Administration?" The three-fold division of government which we have inherited from Montesquieu—on which his (and our) doctrine of the separation of powers was based—included the "administrative." But the meaning of the word as he used it was entirely different from its connotation today. Its significance for us lies, indeed, in the emergence of a separate function and a distinct branch of governmental organization not envisaged by him in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The old division into legislative, executive, and judicial has become, under the impact of new and often technical activities assigned to the "government" by the policy-forming agency, the legislature, a four-fold one. The adequate performance of such varied functions as insect-pest control, the regulation of working conditions in mines and factories, the collection of census statistics, forest conservation, river-flood control, the creation of farm and house mortgage-loan systems, public-health services requires an altogether different type and organization of government service from that which satisfied the conditions of a century ago.

This development, a logical and predictable result of the expanding functions of government, has had several interesting consequences. On the one hand, it has initiated new governmental forms and practices, and a considerable literature—descriptive, critical, and prophetic—of real theoretical importance to the student, and much practical interest to the public official and to the citizen. On the other hand, it has raised again the "dead hand" of the spectre of officialism which has recently been exploited by the medicine men of things-as-they-are (actually as-they-never-were in the administrative process of the past half-century or so) under the rubric of "bureaucracy." When Dicey wrote his classic chapter on "The Rule of Law and Droit Administratif" in his *The Law of the Constitution*,¹ the contrasts which he drew between the British and French systems of administration were still evident. More recently the tocsin has been sounded—with greater vigor but less discrimination as to the facts—by the Lord Chief Justice, whose *The New Despotism*² has become a textbook for the enemies of the development of "administration" in the modern state.³

The various services which government now renders (and must, even within the dictatorships) compel the creation and maintenance of staffs, adequately trained and competently organized, to perform them. However attractive the Golden Age of life-without-government may appear, it is significant that neither those who look

* Unless otherwise noted, the books mentioned have been published in 1935.

¹ A. V. Dicey, *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1915.

² Lord Hewart, *The New Despotism*. London: Benn, 1932.

³ A more scholarly and useful study of contemporary British administrative development is C. K. Allen, *Bureaucracy Triumphant* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1931). Allen's *Law in the Making* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930), however, gives many historical illustrations of the emergence of administration as an essential function. For the United States, J. M. Beck, *Our Wonderland of Bureaucracy* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1932) is a companion piece to Lord Hewart's volume. For a careful and persuasive analysis of the practical indivisibility of the legislative, executive, administrative, and judicial functions by water-tight structural forms—or theories—cf. I. W. Jennings, *Parliamentary Reform* (London: V. Gollancz, Ltd., 1934).

backward to that mirage or forward to the "withering away" of the state today would—or can—dispense with a very considerable administrative machine. To an analysis of its organization, opportunities, achievements, and future we may turn, therefore, with more profit than to its indictment. It may profitably be divided into a consideration of first, some elements in the practice of administration; second, current analytical and descriptive studies; and third, recent appraisals of the personnel problem as such.

The Practice of Administration. No political phenomenon has received more attention than the expansion of our administrative services—national, state, and local. We have been so habituated to thinking of the New Deal as the Great Leviathan of bureaucracy that we are apt to forget their steady proliferation even in the national government, during the past quarter century, resulting from the era of big colonial expansion (witness our excellent record in health and education in the Philippines), public works, public health, and social security. And these and other services have been only less inevitable elements in the evolution of state and local government. If we compare the present functions, procedures, and personnel of the city hall or state capital with the conditions a decade (and certainly two) ago, we realize at once the extent and the significance of the impact of technology upon government.

Several by-products of this process are of interest to the teacher whose students may, in the future, look more interestedly toward government service as a career. The first is the growing professionalization of our public services. In the national sphere we have as yet no very important agencies of collective bargaining, comparable for instance to the Whitley Councils in England. Nor have we, for the higher brackets of the service, anything to correspond to the Institute of Public Administration, whose journal, *Public Administration*,⁴ is the recognized research clearing house for administrative ideas and research, in the English-speaking countries.

But in the state and local governments we have progressed more rapidly. There are over sixty interstate associations of state and local-government officials in different administrative fields. Some of these are active agencies for the improvement of administrative standards and practices in their own fields. Most important, perhaps, is the International City Managers' Association, which has embarked on various training programs and publishes not only research reports, but a monthly journal *Public Management*, and an annual *The Municipal Index*,⁵ the third number of which will appear in 1936. It has been, for two decades, a most significant force for the improvement of local administration.

A number of these associations have clustered in Chicago around the recently created Public Administration Clearing House which acts as a center of research and contact between public officials in many branches of state and local government. Adequately staffed and uniquely placed in a great metropolitan area and in close contact with Chicago University these associations are likely to become the nuclei for a more self-conscious and closely integrated body of administrative public servants than we have so far had in this country.

A second by-product of more immediate educational significance is the growing interest in training for the public service. The technological imperative has forced us to abandon that unhappy indifference to administrative training and organization which de Tocqueville noted and commented on a century ago.⁶ Training began in the sphere of local government; courses at Syracuse, Cincinnati, and other Universities began,

⁴ London, S. W. I. (Palace Chambers, Bridge Street): Institute of Public Administration.

⁵ Chicago (850 East 58th Street): The Association.

⁶ cf. A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (London edition, 1875), Part I, chs. 5, 6.

after the War, to be consolidated around specific training for municipal administration. Training for the foreign service, formally initiated at Georgetown, has since spread to Princeton, Columbia, and other centers. The most recent development is toward general pre-entry administrative training at the post-graduate level. The question was first thoroughly canvassed at a conference at the University of Minnesota, July 14-17, 1931.⁷ The announcement in December 1935 of the Littauer endowment of a postgraduate training course in public administration at Harvard is an indication of the growing interest in and significance of this aspect of administration.⁸

And the development of post-entry training also indicates it. There have for years been isolated examples of self-education among various groups in the national service. Within the past two or three, the development of post-entry training has been rapid and widespread. And it is spreading among state and local government officials. As administrative officers themselves demand and create the facilities for self-training within the public service, the indifference to competence and disregard of improved standards of administrative practice will be eradicated the more rapidly.⁹

A third by-product of practical administration of special interest to the teacher is to be found in official administrative reports. With the development of planning agencies, the quality as well as the quantity of these sources is being improved.¹⁰ The next few years are likely to be even more prolific in usable source materials in these fields.

And biographies are hardly less important sources of insight into the administrative process. If one post-war life were to be selected as illustrative of the spirit and methods of the creative administrator, it would undoubtedly be the *Autobiography* of Lord Haldane.¹¹ The author was the civilian head of the British War Office (and also held other cabinet posts). His unique organizing ability, the versatility of interests and insights, and his capacity for thinking out policy and then implementing it with the necessary machinery break through the modesty of his own account to reveal one of the great minds of the past generation in action. To the student of the art of governing it is as indispensable for its lessons in statecraft as it is delightful for the charm and candor of the author's style.¹²

⁷ cf. *University Training for the National Service*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932.

⁸ The development in Great Britain has also been rapid during the past decade; cf. A. C. Stewart, "The Approach of British Universities to Public Administration," *Public Administration*, II (1933), 20.

⁹ cf. J. E. Devine, *Post-Entry Training in the Federal Service*. Chicago: Public Administration Clearing House. cf. for Great Britain, the report of a research group of the Institute of Public Administration in *Public Administration*, II (1933), 37. Also, see the statement by Dimock noted on page 324.

¹⁰ For the output of national and state-planning reports consult *Plan Age*. Washington, D.C. (Jackson Place): National Economic and Social Planning Association. See especially, as an example of the new approach to planning problems, National Resources Committee, *Regional Factors in National Planning*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

¹¹ Viscount R. B. Haldane, *Autobiography*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1929.

¹² Two more recent volumes may be noted: B. M. Allen's *Sir Robert Morant* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1934) is an account, not merely of the career of one of the greatest of nineteenth-century British civil servants, but a skillful record of the administrative development to which he devoted his robust energy. After a distinguished career in Siam, he returned to the home administration, first in education, later in health insurance and health administration. It is a record of courage, vigor, and great administrative talent—an example of the public servant of the highest type. Harold G. Nicolson's *Dwight Morrow* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.) is a sympathetic and straightforward account of the public and unofficial services of one of the ablest Americans of our time. Never devoting all his energy and experience (except during the embassy to Mexico) to public service, he more than once contributed notably to it.

The Study of Administration. (a) "The art of leadership." There are various approaches which may be made to the observation of the actual working of administration. One is to record the techniques of control which have been devised by those responsible for direction. In such biographies as those just noted, we may observe the development of techniques by individual administrators. Again we may attempt to generalize the qualities essential to direction, and to discover the necessary training, organization, and application of these qualities. Ordway Tead's *The Art of Leadership*¹³ is one of the most interesting of recent attempts. In a brief and popularly-written study, he analyzes the factors that make for successful administrative control, and sets forth what he thinks are the possible methods for transferring these skills, by training and organization, from the senior to the junior executives. Designed to bring to the business and industrial manager the distillation of ideas and practices more general than those of the "university of experience," Tead has succeeded in presenting a borderland analysis of leadership useful both in private and public management. It does not, and is not intended to, present a philosophy of leadership; it succeeds in putting into language, that the business executive understands and will read, some of the more important elements of intelligent administrative practice.¹⁴

The Machinery of Government. (b) Numerous studies of administration in action have appeared in recent years. Only a few may be noted here. Perhaps the most important in the high standard of analysis, description, and appraisal of administrative work is Marshall E. Dimock's *Government Owned Enterprises in the Panama Canal Zone*.¹⁵ Undertaken as an official survey of the existing situation, Dimock has succeeded in making not merely a photograph but a diagnosis. In exploring the most extensive pre-New-Deal government enterprise we had undertaken, he unites competent observation with sound administrative pragmatism. The result is a document, if not unique in the recent literature of administrative analysis, certainly prophetic of its maturity in this country.

It is indicative of a growing interest in the governmental process in the South that state and local administration are there receiving intensive attention. The University of North Carolina has been a pioneer in research upon many phases of administration in that state, and the literature for other states is rapidly increasing. J. K. Coleman's *State Administration in South Carolina*¹⁶ and R. L. Carleton's *Local Government and Administration in Louisiana*¹⁷ are typical—and symbolic—of the thoroughgoing and objective accounts which must underlie an intelligent program of reform

¹³ New York: Harper & Bros.

¹⁴ In *Management of Tomorrow* (London: Nesbit, 1934) N. Urwick, former Director of the International Institute of Scientific Management, has set down some searching questions about administrative practice, based on both public and private business experience. He emphasizes, for instance, that the faults of bureaucracy and "red tape" are more a function of size than of public vs. private control. He analyses problems of staff promotion, and argues for differentiating and matching functions and individual capacity. His major premise is that the "administrative man" has supplanted the "economic man," that administration is the center of decision and of effective control in business as in government. The problem of organization is, therefore, central to efficiency; control thus organized may well determine ultimate policy.

This suggestion, not exhaustively worked out by Urwick, is strikingly confirmed by Gardner C. Means in his paper read to the American Political Science Association in 1934; in B. E. Lipincott, *Government Control of the Economic Order* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press). See also A. G. H. Dent, *Management, Planning, Control*. London: Gee & Co.

¹⁵ Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. Cf. the same author (London: Allen & Unwin, 1933) for an equally incisive study of British public utility policy and practice—*British Public Utilities and National Development*.

¹⁶ New York: Columbia University Press.

¹⁷ Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press.

of the obsolescent machinery of state and local government in all our states. While such studies are primarily of local interest, they indicate a new awareness of the importance of sound administration to good government.

Still more restricted in scope, but perhaps for that very reason more important contributions to an understanding of administration, are two recent volumes on phases of state government in Massachusetts. There one of the earliest civil-service laws was enacted (in 1884) and extended to certain posts in the local services. George C. S. Benson in his *The Administration of the Civil Service in Massachusetts*¹⁸ has explored all the phases—legal, political, technical—of its application to local government. Written with intimate first-hand acquaintance with the operation of the law and with a refreshing emphasis on the play of political forces on the working of the law, it is not too much to say that this is a model both of research and of reporting. In scope, analysis, and appraisal Benson has greatly enriched the literature—and the understanding—of civil service in this country.

Massachusetts has also been a pioneer in state control of local expenditure and accounting. This system has been explored from its colonial origins to the present day by R. S. van de Wolstyne in his *State Control of Local Finance in Massachusetts*.¹⁹ "The enviable record" of the past sixty years is portrayed with critical objectivity. The Massachusetts plan has worked so well, in part, because a permanent staff with a security which makes for impartiality and expertness has administered a law, the context of which is inducement to coöperation with rather than compulsion from state authorities. The author's survey of the working of state control is likely to be of wide interest outside as well as within the commonwealth.

Essays on the Law and Practice of Governmental Administration,²⁰ edited by C. G. Haines and M. E. Dimock, a collection of essays in honor of Frank J. Goodnow, President Emeritus of the Johns Hopkins University, is a notable contribution to the literature—and the thinking—about administration in this country. Several of the authors discuss the question of the control of administration, the final stage in the administrative process. Dimock's essay is devoted entirely to this question. In it he discusses five methods of control: through legislative investigation; by judicial action in equity through the testing of administration under the great units of habeas corpus, certiorari, and mandamus; by administrative control through disciplinary action; through professional self-discipline within the services in improved standards of competence and conduct; by political control through party determination of administrative qualifications and policies, as in the dictatorships. His conclusion is that "the surest road to administrative improvement is within the administration itself. As public administration has progressed, executive, fiscal, and personnel controls have been improved. So has the calibre of public employees, the most important factor of all. . . . In the last analysis, the raising of levels of ability and performance depends upon the organized interests and demands of public employees. The chief responsibility for making administrative improvements is theirs."

Several of the authors discuss with approval the development of an administrative court system in the United States. It is interesting to note that the Committee on Administrative Law of the American Bar Association made a similar proposal in 1935.²¹

¹⁸ Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

¹⁹ Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

²⁰ Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

²¹ See *Report of Committee on Administrative Law*, American Bar Association, 1935. Chicago: The Association.

This question is likely to become more important as the problem of judicial review of increasingly complex problems of administrative action and determination are thrust upon the courts. Haines' essay on the judicial review of accident compensation legislation and Thach's on "The Inadequacies of the Rule of Law" are particularly interesting from this point of view.

Several new studies of British administration, national and local, have recently appeared. Ivor Jennings' *Parliamentary Reform*²² is as stimulating and suggestive as it is compact. Here Jennings underlines the prophecies of Dicey in terms of modern practice, and indicates briefly but with unusual insight and acumen the present relations and the future trends of Parliament and the administrative services. No other single volume of recent years will give the student a more informative survey of current Parliamentary development and of the problems to be faced in the working of the democratic process in Great Britain.

English local government is also being made much more available to American readers. Herbert Morrison's *How Greater London Is Governed*²³ is a careful and intelligible account of the organization of government of the world's largest city. The London County Council, of which the author is now chairman, as leader of the Labor Party which recently captured control after a party struggle of over a quarter of a century, shares jurisdiction over various administrative services with the twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs into which Greater London is divided. Morrison sets out the political and administrative problems of the city with admirable clarity and impartiality. His is the most interesting account available in English of the actual conduct of government in a great metropolitan area.²⁴

As Others See Us. (c) The descriptions and appraisals of administration noted above are, for the most part, by non-administrators. But there is a growing body of materials of unique value coming from those actively engaged in administrative work, about what they are doing and how. Here again England is ahead of this country in the range and significance of these official analyses and research studies.

Certainly the most important "internal" study of administration which has recently appeared is the *Report of the Committee on Ministers' Powers*²⁵ and the *Memoranda Submitted by Government Departments to*, and the *Minutes of Evidence*²⁶

²² See footnote 3.

²³ London: Lovat Dickson.

²⁴ C. K. Wright's *The Lighter Side of Local Government* (London: Allen & Unwin) is a more formal and intimate account of the office of Mayor in an English borough. Without any of the executive authority of an American mayor, he combines three functions—chief magistrate of the municipal courts, chairman of the council, and leading citizen at ceremonial and public functions. Between them he manages to dispense substantial justice and much good feeling (which includes a considerable mixture of wit, as Wright's many and amusing stories suggest).

With this informal study may be compared *A Day in My Official Life* recently published by the Institute of Public Administration (London) and written by a variety of civil servants in the national departments. Cf. also Sir H. Haward, on *The London County Council From Within* (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1932) to which he had been Comptroller for over thirty years. Here are combined the author's unrivalled knowledge of the administrative working of the Council with his wide experience in and reflections upon the political problems involved in metropolitan government.

The historical evolution of British local government has recently been brilliantly portrayed in *A Century of Municipal Progress* which covers the period from the Municipal Corporations Act. (See *The Social Studies*, XVII, January, 1936, 61-62.) See also *Qualifications Recruitment Training and Promotion of Local Government Officers* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office 1934, 32-306) for an analysis of contemporary personnel problems in local government in Great Britain.

²⁵ London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1932.

²⁶ *Ibid.* (two volumes), 1933. See reviews by I. W. Jennings in *Public Administration*, II (1932), 333; *ibid.* (1933), 109.

before, the Committee. No adequate review of these three documents is possible here. But no library of current administrative studies can possibly be complete without the first; the other two are invaluable mines of information and opinion on contemporary practice and policy within the British civil service. Every issue and controversy in administrative action—from legislation to review—is here canvassed by responsible officials charged with the day-to-day task of implementing their ideas in action. There is no major question of interest to us in America that is not illuminated by the records here presented.

An interesting indication of the variety and amount of research into administrative practice and techniques by public officials is found in *Essays on Aspects of Public Administration*.²⁷ Financed by the Spelman Fund, the Institute of Public Administration offered a competition for research reports by officials on active service. This collection of eight essays (one is by Professor Harvey Walker of Ohio State University) are among the best of those submitted; others are to be published by the Institute. They range in subject matter from local government organization and office methods, to the relation of voluntary agencies to government services. It would be a useful and stimulating venture if we could develop an organization to promote and to provide a platform for this sort of career esprit as the Institute.²⁸

Better Government Personnel. But, in the last analysis, "the proper study of man is man." Administrative devices, however admirable on paper, will remain nothing more than blue-prints unless the men and women who work the machinery of government possess the qualities requisite to our Great Society. How to select, organize, and treat them (as to pay, promotion, retirement, and the many other detailed factors which affect morale in service) is therefore the first—and the last—business of administration.

For a century we have applied the simple and fatal formula which Senator Marcy coined into a phrase in the Jacksonian upheavals, "to the victors belong the spoils." Despite half a century of national civil-service development, the idea still persists in practice in most of our states and cities and far too generally in our national services in the higher ranks. And it survives in those clichés which express the inarticulate premises of many people's conceptions of the public service, such as that: patronage is the price of democracy; the best public servant is the worst one; public service is always less efficient than private enterprise; "more business in government, less government in business."

To these illusions the reports of the Social Science Research Council's Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel provide a devastating challenge. And they do much more, for in the various supporting memoranda to the main report, *Better Government Personnel*,²⁹ there is a collection of materials on American and

²⁷ London: Institute of Public Administration.

²⁸ Many studies, of course, are made in this country by official and semi-official research agencies. The *Monthly List of State Documents* published by the Library of Congress, and the bibliographies published in the *National Municipal Review*, *Public Management*, and *The American City* list many important studies in State and local administration. The Chicago "cluster" of organizations is an increasingly important center of administrative research. Cf. for instance C. Woodbury's *Housing Officials' Yearbook* published by the National Association of Housing Officials. The essay by Means already issued, although not by a career official, is typical of much current research on both the line and the staff sides.

²⁹ New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Now published in a twenty-five cent edition by the Commission, 302 East 35th Street, New York City.

Beside the Minutes of Evidence, the following studies have been issued by the Commission (all published by the McGraw-Hill Book Co.): Sarah Greer, *A Bibliography of Civil Service and*

European personnel practices unrivalled in richness and timeliness. The monographs supporting the report will for long remain the standard source. And in the Minutes of Evidence, collected on both sides of the Atlantic from government officials, business and industrial leaders, and unofficial experts, there is a refutation, as complete as it is unanimous, of the idea that anything less than the best attainable civil service is good enough for the United States of tomorrow.

Charles A. Beard has called the report "one of the landmarks in the history of American thought about government." At once an indictment of ancient shibboleths and a program of sound practice for the future, it charts the broad principles underlying an adequate career service not only for the national but for the state and local governments as well. That they are not immediately applicable to any given system is no argument against their blue-print value for the future. Disagreement on certain points there will be; on the spirit which animates the report there can be none.

Last—but not least—there has come from the pen of Leonard S. White, now a United States Civil Service Commissioner, a slender volume of less than a hundred pages, *Government Career Service*,³⁰ pregnant for the future. Briefly put, his thesis is that there is a distinct administrative function, as yet hardly recognized in this country, but indispensable to the effective organization and conduct of public business. This function, as defined in England, is "concerned with the formation of policy, with the coördination and improvement of government machinery, and with the general administration and control of the departments of the public service." It is independent of, but integrates, the staff and line functions in the federal service, which he finds extraordinarily well performed today.

With the expanded activities and the increasing complexities with which our government, like all others, will be confronted, it will be inevitable, as it would now be advantageous, to recognize, train for, and implement this function in government service. To that problem White devotes several interesting chapters. First of all, adequate university training—the new developments look in this direction—then a probation period of five years, then a further highly selective test for the best of the candidates (perhaps not more than one in eight to be promoted to the administrative service), and, finally, adequate opportunity within the service in terms of scope for initiative, security of tenure, and compensation.

Such a career service would be a not unworthy opportunity for the best talent of the country—a challenge to the ablest men and women from every walk of American life. In such a government organization the spoils would be prestige, not plunder, service of a Great Society, not of a time-clock. White has written for the teacher of today and the student of tomorrow a volume as stimulating as it is prophetic; a volume which will remain a guidepost toward sound practice and efficient organization of the public service.³¹

Personnel Administration; also *Civil Service Abroad*: Great Britain, Canada, France and Germany; Leonard D. White, *The British Civil Service*; Charles H. Bland, *Public Personnel Administration in Canada*; Walter R. Sharp, *Public Personnel Management in France*; Fritz Morstein Marx, *Civil Service in Germany*; Harvey Walker, *Training Public Employees in Great Britain*; and *Problems of the American Public Service*; Carl Joachim Friedrich, *Responsible Government Service under the American Constitution*; William C. Beyer, *Municipal Civil Service in the United States*; John F. Miller, *Employer and Employee in the Public Service*; George A. Graham, *Personnel Practices in Business and Governmental Organizations*; Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., *Government by Merit: An Analysis of the Problem of Government Personnel*.

³⁰ Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

³¹ See also Leonard D. White's *Trends in Public Administration*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933.

The Literature of American History, 1935, II*

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

New York University

XI

Some years ago Frank Ernest Hill asked, in a thoughtful and brilliant book, *What is American?*¹³⁷ The new regionalists find the answer in provincialism: what is most rooted in one soil, what is most provincial is most characteristically American. Certainly the method of science is to proceed from the particular to the general and we may arrive at an understanding of Americanism by examining Americans in action rather than by applying general principles. The regional approach to history and sociology was inaugurated some years ago, and there is no evidence that it has ceased to command the interest of students or of novelists. It is, indeed, in the realm of imaginative literature rather than of history that we find the fullest expression of the new provincialism. The local-color novel of the last decade differs in important respects from the local-color novel of the seventies and eighties: it is interested not so much in the eccentricities, the quaint or humorous aspects of particular localities and groups, as in their genuine character, their normal and authentic individuality.

Half a dozen volumes describe homely, unpretentious American interests. Adelbert Jakeman's *Old Covered Bridges*¹³⁸ covers the bridges of Massachusetts and Connecticut: it is the third book on covered bridges to appear in recent years. Marion N. Rawson's *Little Old Mills*¹³⁹ contains charming essays on sugarcane, rice, cider, paper, spinning and ginning mills, and is attractively illustrated. *The Romance of the Patchwork Quilt in America*¹⁴⁰ by Carrie Hall and Rose Kraitsinger reveals the possibilities of a modest subject. Robert T. Sterling has written informatively of *Lighthouses of the Maine Coast and the Men Who Keep Them*.¹⁴¹ Charles F. Heartman has published an erudite bibliographical history of *The New England Primer*,¹⁴² and John T. Winterich a survey of *Early American Books and Printing*.¹⁴³ Donald C. Peattie's *Singing in the Wilderness: A Salute to John James Audubon*¹⁴⁴ is not so much a biography of the great naturalist and illustrator as an appreciation of the impact of the American wilderness on the artistic spirit.

Every section of the country is described, and variously, in the extensive regional literature of the past year. Rachel Field's *Time Out of Mind*¹⁴⁵ is a beautiful and profound recreation of maritime Maine during the long years of decline. So extensive indeed is the literature of Maine that it might not be improper to speak of a Maine School of fiction. Of the Maine novels of the last year the most important are Gladys Carroll's *A Few Foolish Ones*,¹⁴⁶ Mary Ellen Chase's *Silas Crockett*,¹⁴⁷ and Robert T. Coffin's *Red Sky in the Morning*.¹⁴⁸ Barbara Stevens' *Walk Humbly*¹⁴⁹ is a picture

* This is a continuation of "The Literature of American History, 1935," published in the April, 1936, issue (XXVII, 251-268). Unless otherwise noted, the books mentioned have been published in 1935.

¹³⁷ New York, John Day Co.

¹³⁸ New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

¹³⁹ Stephen Daye Press.

¹⁴⁰ Houghton Mifflin.

¹⁴¹ Macmillan.

¹⁴² Macmillan.

¹⁴³ Houghton Mifflin.

¹³⁸ Brattleboro: Stephen Daye Press.

¹⁴⁰ Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers.

¹⁴² New York: R. R. Bowker Co.

¹⁴⁴ Putnam.

¹⁴⁶ Macmillan.

¹⁴⁸ Macmillan.

of a Vermont village and Nathan Asch's *The Valley*¹⁵⁰ is reminiscent of Edna Ferber's *American Beauty* in its story of the coming of the foreigner to Connecticut. George Hummel's *Heritage*,¹⁵¹ too, tells of the impact of Southern European immigrants on a small town—this time in Long Island. James Boyd's *Roll River*¹⁵² is a wonderfully successful recreation of life in a Pennsylvania town in the eighties and nineties of the last century. The most important of the many novels about the South is unquestionably Ellen Glasgow's *Vein of Iron*,¹⁵³ a thoughtful and moving narrative of three generations of a Scotch-Irish family in the Valley and in Richmond. Barry Fleming's *Siesta*¹⁵⁴ is one of the shrewdest interpretations of Southern character in our literature, and Robert Rylee's *Deep Dark River*¹⁵⁵ pictures dramatically the race problem of the deep South. John Peale Bishop's *Act of Darkness*¹⁵⁶ is a Faulkner-like novel of life and crime in West Virginia. Richard Coleman's *Don't you Weep, Don't you Moan*¹⁵⁷ describes the Charleston Negroes, Hamilton Basso's *In Their Own Image*¹⁵⁸ pictures social life in a resort town, and Marjorie Rawling's *Golden Apples*¹⁵⁹ has its setting in Florida. Kentucky is represented by two novels of note: Elizabeth M. Roberts' *He Sent Forth a Raven*,¹⁶⁰ and Horatio Colony's *Free Forester*.¹⁶¹ Two novels direct attention to the lot of the underprivileged whites of the South: Fielding Burke's *A Stone Came Rolling*¹⁶² is concerned with life in the cotton mills of North Carolina and Paul Green's *This Body this Earth*,¹⁶³ with the share-cropper.

Half a dozen novels describe different parts of the Middle West. In *Lucy Gayheart*¹⁶⁴ Willa Cather returns to the scene of her earlier Nebraska stories and shows that she has lost none of that consummate artistry and that feeling for environment which characterized *My Antonia*, *O Pioneers*, and *The Lost Lady*. Arthur Pound's *Second Growth*¹⁶⁵ is laid in Michigan as is also Alvah Bessie's *Dwell in the Wilderness*.¹⁶⁶ Mark Schorer's *A House Too Old*¹⁶⁷ pictures pioneer Wisconsin; Harry Hansen's *Your Life lies Before You*¹⁶⁸ remembers a boyhood and youth in Davenport, Iowa; and McKinlay Kantor's *The Voice of Bugle Ann*¹⁶⁹ tells of fox hunting and rural life in Missouri. Two novels describe early Oklahoma: Edwin Lanham's *The Wind Blew West*,¹⁷⁰ and John Oskison's *Brothers Three*.¹⁷¹ Vardis Fisher's *We Are Betrayed*¹⁷² is the third volume of his tetralogy of life in the mountains of Idaho. H. L. Davis' *Honey in the Horn*¹⁷³ is a story of pioneer life in Oregon that has been compared to Huckleberry Finn: the comparison is valid only for the spirit which animates the book.

The most striking thing about most of these novels is the note of nostalgia which they sound; here are no bitter revelations of the narrowness and bigotry of small town life or the brutality of country life, but warm appreciation of the beauty and dignity and fortitude of the men and women who have chosen to cling to their own roots or to put down roots in new soil. It is a far cry from *Miss Lulu Bett*, *Main Street*, and *Winesburg, Ohio* of the twenties to *Time Out of Mind*, *Vein of Iron*, and *The Voice of Bugle Ann*.

¹⁵⁰ Macmillan.

¹⁵¹ Scribner's.

¹⁵² Harcourt, Brace.

¹⁵³ Scribner's.

¹⁵⁴ Macmillan.

¹⁵⁵ Viking.

¹⁵⁶ Longmans, Green.

¹⁵⁷ Knopf.

¹⁵⁸ Covici Friede.

¹⁵⁹ Harcourt, Brace.

¹⁶⁰ Longmans, Green.

¹⁶¹ Doubleday, Doran.

¹⁶² New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co.

¹⁶³ Harcourt, Brace.

¹⁶⁴ Farrar & Rinehart.

¹⁶⁵ Scribner's.

¹⁶⁶ Scribner's.

¹⁶⁷ Little, Brown.

¹⁶⁸ Harper.

¹⁶⁹ Reynal & Hitchcock.

¹⁷⁰ Reynal & Hitchcock.

¹⁷¹ Coward-McCann.

¹⁷² Macmillan.

¹⁷³ Harper.

Of interpretations of Southern life and character there is no end: Southerners are still, apparently, on the defensive; concerned with explaining themselves and justifying themselves. Clarence Caton's *90 in the Shade*¹⁷⁴ is one of the most intelligent and ingratiating of recent books on Southern character: it contains shrewd estimates of the effect of climate on the South, of race problems, of the impact of industry on the agrarian economy and psychology, and of the character of such leaders as Bilbo and Heflin. B. B. Kendrick and A. M. Arnett have collaborated in a series of thoughtful essays: *The South Looks at Its Past*.¹⁷⁵ Nowhere can be found a more satisfactory brief presentation of the re-interpretation of the history of the Old South than in the first two of these essays; nowhere a juster appraisal of the meaning of the New South and the significance of the attempts of southerners to follow the national pattern. Muriel E. Sheppard's *Cabins in the Laurel*¹⁷⁶ is a sociological examination of life in the Toe River Valley of western North Carolina, its value enhanced by numerous excellent illustrations. J. D. Eggleston's *Southern Sketches*¹⁷⁷ includes essays on little known but significant southerners such as Hinton Helper, Heros von Borcke, and DeBow.

However acrimonious the recent criticism of the Turnerian thesis of the influence of the frontier, the ideas advanced by Turner and the fields of investigation suggested by him continue to command the attention of a large number of students. Yet the social and institutional history of the American west is still far from complete, and adequate studies of the post-civil war frontiers are lamentably few. Not only this, but one important field of investigation has been all but ignored: the comparative institutional history of the frontier. The westward moving frontier may be the most peculiarly American thing about America, but we cannot after all know in just what ways it is peculiarly American until we are more familiar with the frontiers of other peoples.

In this connection James G. Leyburn's *Frontier Folkways*¹⁷⁸ is a suggestive piece of work. Mr. Leyburn has been concerned with the adjustments required of pioneers when they came from an established society to a primitive one. With a view to determining this, he has studied the frontiers of Massachusetts Bay, French Quebec, New Zealand, Bahia, the Transvaal, Australia, Java, New Spain, and selected phases of later American frontiers. Mr. Leyburn's approach is a sociological rather than an historical one and he is primarily interested in "getting at the basic structure of social institutions and the true nature of custom." The book is disappointingly brief and, in places, episodic, and lacks precision of statement, but it is indispensable to any student of the American frontier.

One of the most characteristic of American frontier institutions has been presented, and elaborately, in Walter P. Webb's *Texas Rangers*.¹⁷⁹ Narrower in scope than his earlier book on *The Great Plains*, the new one is nevertheless a book on capital importance. With painstaking detail Webb traces the history of the Rangers from the early years of the Texan Republic to the year 1935 when they were finally abolished. It is an exciting tale that Webb unfolds in this history of the greatest organization of man hunters that we have ever known, a tale of Indian fighting and war, and banditry, and it is told in a style appropriately robust and spirited.

Several monographs touch on special phases of frontier history, some of them

¹⁷⁴ University of North Carolina Press.

¹⁷⁶ University of North Carolina Press.

¹⁷⁸ Yale University Press.

¹⁷⁵ University of Northern Carolina Press.

¹⁷⁷ Charlottesville: Historical Publishing Company.

¹⁷⁹ Houghton Mifflin.

closely related to the subject which Webb has so carefully presented. Father Gilbert J. Garraghan's *Chapters in Frontier History*¹⁸⁰ is devoted largely to studies in the religious history of the early Mississippi Valley with special reference to the work of Father De Smet. William S. Lester's *The Transylvania Colony*¹⁸¹ is a history of perhaps the most interesting of the early trans-Appalachian colonies. Edgar Bruce Wesley's *Guarding the Frontier, 1815-1825*¹⁸² is a series of case studies in the problem of frontier defense and is particularly valuable for its material on the struggle between the government factors and the private fur traders and companies. Paul Bigelow's *Deserts on the March*¹⁸³ tells the story of the struggle against erosion and drought in the high plains and arid regions of the American west as well as elsewhere in the World. James T. DeShields' *Tall Men with Long Rifles*¹⁸⁴ is based on the reminiscences of Creed Taylor, a veteran of the Texas Revolution. James K. Greer's *Grand Prairie*¹⁸⁵ is a study of social and economic life on the Grand Prairie of Texas. Myrtle Garrison's *Romance and History of the California Ranches*¹⁸⁶ is confined to the great ranches of the Spanish and Mexican period of California history. A. S. Mercer's *The Banditti of the Plains*¹⁸⁷ tells the story of the cattlemen's invasion of Wyoming, and the Johnson County War of 1892.

The most important contribution to the study of the American Indian is Robert Lowie's *The Crow Indian*.¹⁸⁸ It is not so much a history of the tribe as a sociological analysis: there are excellent chapters on tribal organization, club life, religion, war, ceremonies, and family relations. William O. Galloway's *Old Chillicothe*¹⁸⁹ contains a miscellany of history, folk-lore, and stories of the Shawnee Indians of the Old Northwest. Two books tell of the long-drawn out wars with the Comanches and Apaches of western Texas: R. G. Carter's *On the Border with Mackenzie, or Winning West Texas from the Comanches*,¹⁹⁰ and Paul I. Wellman's *Death in the Desert: Fifty Years War for the Great Southwest*.¹⁹¹ *California Joe*,¹⁹² by Earle Forrest and Joe E. Milner, recalls the madcap career of one of the greatest of Indian fighters and scouts, Moses Embree Milner, who fought under Custer and took part in the Mackenzie expedition against the Comanches. Elaine C. Eastman's *Pratt, the Red Man's Moses*¹⁹³ is a biography of the founder of the famous Carlisle Indian School.

The literature of the Mining Kingdom is extensive but desultory: our earlier complaint of the lack of any institutional history of the Mining Kingdom is still valid and it is the romantic aspects of mining that commands the attention of commentators. Three books describe, in journalistic fashion, episodes in the history of mining: Estelline Bennett's *Old Deadwood Days*,¹⁹⁴ Lewis Gandy's *The Tabors: a footnote of Western History*,¹⁹⁵ and Edna Bryan Buckbee's *Saga of Old Tuolumne*.¹⁹⁶ Julian Dana's biography of *Sutter of California*¹⁹⁷ has been republished in a new and revised edition. A valuable contribution to the little-known history of the Klondike gold rush is Angus Graham's *The Golden Grindstone: Adventures of George Mitchell*.¹⁹⁸ When students speak of the Mining Kingdom they commonly have in mind gold and

¹⁸⁰ Milwaukee: Bruce Co.

¹⁸² University of Minnesota Press.

¹⁸⁴ San Antonio: Naylor Printing Co.

¹⁸⁶ San Francisco: Harr Wagner Publishing Co.

¹⁸⁸ Farrar & Rinehart.

¹⁹⁰ Washington, D.C.: Eynon Publishing Co.

¹⁹² Caxton Printers.

¹⁹⁴ Scribner's.

¹⁹⁶ Press of the Pioneers.

¹⁹⁸ Lippincott.

¹⁸¹ Spencer, Indiana: Samuel Guard Co.

¹⁸³ University of Oklahoma Press.

¹⁸⁵ Dallas: Tardy Publishing Co.

¹⁸⁷ New York: Grabhorn Press.

¹⁸⁹ Xenia, Ohio: Buckeye Press.

¹⁹¹ Macmillan.

¹⁹³ University of Oklahoma Press.

¹⁹⁵ Press of the Pioneers.

¹⁹⁷ Macmillan.

silver mining: iron, copper, and lead mining, of no less importance, have been almost completely ignored. All the more welcome, therefore, is C. B. Glasscock's *War of the Copper Kings*,¹⁹⁹ a chronicle of the rise of the copper industry in Montana and of the rivalry of the great Copper Kings, Daly, Heinze, and Clark.

There is an authentic note in Mari Sandoz's *Old Jules*,²⁰⁰ that places it in a class by itself in the literature of the pioneer west. Here is the real story of pioneering on the Great Plains, told as Hamlin Garland wished to tell it, without sham or pretense or sentiment. Old Jules Sandoz is not an attractive character; he represents, better than any figure who has been presented to us in literature, the disintegrating, the barbarizing effects of the pioneering process, but he represents, too, that perseverance, adaptability, and fortitude which finally triumphed over nature and man and built up the American west. It was to western Nebraska—the Niobara region—that the young Swiss doctor came, back in the eighties when cattlemen still controlled the grasslands. Through the terrible nineties with their droughts and depressions, through the early years of the new century, Old Jules persevered, undismayed by the discouragements of nature and the murderous quarrels of men. He tilled the soil and brought water to thirsty land; he introduced new crops and new methods of farming, he grew an orchard, he brought in immigrants and took care of them, doctored them and fought for them—fought with bandits, cattlemen, and railroads. He wore out four wives and earned the dislike of his children; he was hard and mean and brutal, but he had spirit and integrity.

There have been extensive and important additions to the printed source material of the history of the west. The most important contribution of this character is unquestionably *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail: Robert Stuart's Narrative of His Overland Trip from Astoria in 1812-13*,²⁰¹ edited by Philip A. Rollins. It was Stuart who first discovered South Pass and marked out the trail later used by the emigrants to Oregon. Mr. Rollins' carefully edited book also contains a "Journal of the Tonquin's Voyage," and W. P. Hunt's "Diary of His Overland Trip to Astoria." The documentary history of the Oregon movement between Astoria and the great trek of the forties is set forth in Archer and Dorothy Hulbert's *The Oregon Crusade: Across Land and Sea to Oregon*,²⁰² the fifth volume of the notable *Overland to the Pacific Series*. Here is Jonathan Green's Report on the Northwest Coast, and letters and journals from the famous Jason Lee and a number of Parker, Spaulding, and Whitman letters relating to early missionary labors in Oregon. Fritz Leo Hoffman has edited Fray Francisco Celiz's *Diary of the Alarcon Expedition into Texas, 1718-19*,²⁰³ and Maurice Sullivan, the *Travels of Jedidiah Smith*,²⁰⁴ a documentary outline which includes Smith's Journal. Elliott W. Cook's *Land Ho*²⁰⁵ presents another original diary of a forty-niner. Major Chittenden's famous *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*²⁰⁶ contains so much material gleaned from first-hand knowledge of the subject and not elsewhere available, that it almost achieves the dignity of a source. Students will welcome the re-publication of this invaluable book in a new edition which contains brief notes by Stallo Vinton. Equally welcome is a new and enlarged edition of Edwin L. Sabin's classic *Kit Carson Days*.²⁰⁷ Elsie D.

¹⁹⁹ Bobbs-Merrill.

²⁰⁰ Scribner's.

²⁰¹ The Quivera Society.

²⁰² Baltimore: Remington, Putnam Book Co.

²⁰³ Press of the Pioneers.

²⁰⁴ Little Brown.

²⁰⁵ Stewart Commission and the Denver Public Library.

²⁰⁶ New York: Fine Arts Press.

²⁰⁷ Co.

²⁰⁸ Press of the Pioneers.

Isely's *Sunbonnet Days*²⁰⁸ is the autobiography of a Swiss emigrant in early Kansas.

In a recent essay on the "Writing of Local History in America"²⁰⁹ W. Stull Holt called attention to the superior quality of the local histories of the upper Mississippi Valley; the generalization is true of state histories rather than of town or county histories. There is evidence of a revival of interest in state and local history elsewhere in the country. With the publication of volumes seven and eight of the *History of New York State*,²¹⁰ the most ambitious state history ever projected is nearing completion. Volume seven, *Modern Party Battles*, covers the history of state politics from the fifties to the present and embraces certain related subjects such as immigration, the Civil War, and the World War. Volume eight, *Wealth and Commonwealth*, is devoted to social and economic history: agriculture, banking, commerce, public utilities and their regulation, humane institutions, philanthropy and social service, and the woman's movement. The chapters are, as might be expected, somewhat uneven in merit and the coöperative method has involved some sacrifice of unity and continuity of treatment, but the volumes as a whole are distinctly superior to the general run of State histories. Two other books dealing with the history of the Empire State are worthy of note: Edward Hungerford's *Pathway of Empire*,²¹¹ and Arthur Pound's *The Golden Earth: the Story of Manhattan's landed wealth*.²¹² Wayland F. Dunaway's *History of Pennsylvania*²¹³ is one of the volumes of the series of State histories that Carl Wittke is editing. David D. Wallace's four volume *History of South Carolina*²¹⁴ follows the conventional practice of combining state history with hundreds of uncritical biographical sketches. Albert B. Moore's *History of Alabama*²¹⁵ is the work of a distinguished historian and is above the average state history in scholarly character. The first volume of Charles Carey's *General History of Oregon*²¹⁶ carries the story of Oregon up to 1861.

XII

One of the most distinguished contributions to American intellectual history that has appeared in recent years is Ralph Barton Perry's *Thought and Character of William James*.²¹⁷ In these two rich volumes can be read a considerable part of the cultural and philosophical history of pre-World War America, for in many respects William James was the most complete representative of the thought of his generation. The most valuable part of these volumes is the extensive collection of letters from such men as Eliot, Godkin, Henry James, Sr., and Henry James, Jr., C. E. Norton, Santayana, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Royce, Dewey, and others—altogether some five hundred letters never before published. Another contribution to the growing literature on this family, no less fascinating than the Adams family is Anna Burr's *Alice James: her Brothers, her Journal*.²¹⁸ A somewhat more recent chapter in the history of American thought is illumined in S. Foster Damon's robust and sympathetic recreation of *Amy Lowell*,²¹⁹ poet, biographer, scholar, and patron of the arts and letters. Stanley Williams' two volume biography of *Washington Irving*²²⁰ is a definitive study which sur-

²⁰⁸ Caxton Printers.

²⁰⁹ *Proceedings of Middle States Association of History Teachers*. Vol. 33, 1935. Philadelphia: McKinley Publishing Co.

²¹⁰ Columbia University Press.

²¹² Macmillan.

²¹⁴ American Historical Society.

²¹⁶ Portland: Metropolitan Press.

²¹⁸ Dodd Mead.

²²⁰ Oxford University Press.

²¹¹ McBride.

²¹³ Prentice-Hall.

²¹⁵ Auburn: University of Alabama Press.

²¹⁷ Little Brown.

²¹⁹ Houghton, Mifflin.

veys with great learning and vast detail the life of our first man of letters, and embraces a good part of the intellectual history of America during the first half of the nineteenth century. Material for the history of American romanticism is furnished in Elizabeth Halbeisen's biography of *Harriet Prescott Spofford*,²²¹ in Lincoln Lorenz's overly-sentimental *Life of Sidney Lanier*,²²² and in Grant Knight's thoughtful and critical study of *James Lane Allen and the Genteel Tradition*.²²³ The moral and intellectual education of the greatest of American sociologists can be read in *Young Ward's Diary*,²²⁴ the boyish jottings of the future author of *Dynamic Sociology*. Harlan H. Horner's *Life and Work of Andrew Sloan Draper*²²⁵ recalls the work of one of the foremost progressive educators of the last century.

It is possible that the history of America will be written, in the end, by her poets rather than by her historians. Certainly no historian has penetrated more deeply to the meaning of American democracy than has Whitman; no historian has expressed more movingly the significance of the Civil War than has Stephen Vincent Benet. Of all American poets of this generation none has used with greater effect the folk-lore of America than has Vachel Lindsay. For Lindsay was, above all, the poet of the American people, molding out of folk-tales, traditions, interests, hopes, and commonest experiences songs that caught up and faithfully recreated their emotional content. More fully perhaps than any other poet since Whitman he fulfilled the character of O'Shaughnessy's Music Maker. Americans did not appreciate this Music Maker who "out of a fabulous story fashioned an empire's glory" but he never met neglect or ingratitude with bitterness or despair. Now Edgar Lee Masters has written the biography of Lindsay.²²⁶ Master's reaction to the failings of American democracy was very different from that of Lindsay, but for all that his biography of his friend and fellow-poet is appreciative and sympathetic and recreates for us one of the most lovable and gallant Americans of our generation.

²²¹ University of Pennsylvania Press.

²²² University of North Carolina Press.

²²⁵ Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

²²³ Coward-McCann.

²²⁴ Putnam.

²²⁶ Scribner's.

Current Events in World Affairs

GEORGE H. E. SMITH

On to the Presidential Election of 1936!

The Cards in the New Deal. The Roosevelt administration in 1933 promptly demonstrated that it proposed to use a full deck in its New Deal; the legislation it proposed covered the whole range of American life. The program and the activities taken under it may be divided into two broad categories: (1) action taken to correct the abuses that had grown up under existing institutions and practices; and (2) steps to push the nation further along the new lines of development which had begun to appear over the last quarter of a century. In no sense was the program revolutionary; it was the same old game with a fresh deck. It merely looked like a new game because the new deck removed the smudges of the last decade and more clearly revealed the cards for the people to read.

The principal activities in the first category centered around the reorganization and strengthening of many institutions within the nation's existing economy, easing the load of private indebtedness, cutting away the flagrant abuses which had grown up over the years, and regulating the hitherto unregulated elements in economic life. This accounts for the expansion of the activities of the RFC; the elimination or reorganization of banks by conservators; the legislation of the banking acts aimed to restore the integrity of banking principles and practices through greater centralization of control, more detailed supervision, and the prohibitions against banking affiliations with security houses. It covers also the desire to restore confidence in the banking system by providing permanent deposit insurance and an orderly way to liquidate weak banks without losses to depositors. For similar reasons applied to the monetary system, the legislation sought to broaden the powers of the Federal Reserve Board over currency and credit, enlarge the monetary base by using both gold and silver as a cover or reserve, nationalize both metals to prevent shipment abroad—hoarding and other acts likely to weaken the money system—cheapen the dollar so as to raise prices and thus increasing its debt-paying power in terms of commodities. Through the Securities Act and the Securities Exchange Act, effort was made to eliminate abuses which brought the money markets into disrepute such as artificially inflated corporate financial structures, pegged markets, false prospectuses, sales to insiders, other manipulations by corporate directors and managers, and easy methods of brokers and traders in the stock markets designed to encourage irresponsible speculation. This was to be accomplished by compulsory registration of detailed information concerning security issues and corporate affairs and by the exercise of broad regulatory powers vested in a commission set up by the government. In this category also falls the legislation designed to reorganize the capital structures of the railroads and effect economies and efficiency in their operations.

Of similar import is the attempt to eliminate the top-heavy structures brought about by holding companies in the field of electric utilities. Efforts to regulate the unregulated elements of economic life were made to reach electric utility operations, telephone, telegraph and radio communication, and the newer forms of transportation—such as automobile bus and truck operations. Each particular case of regulation in this vast extension of governmental regulatory powers must be examined in detail to

find the reasons for such action. Space does not permit such a detailed analysis here, but from long study the opinion is ventured that regulation is justified, has ample precedent, and is indispensable in view of the directions in which modern economic and social life is tending. Finally, in this category fall the measures aimed to ease the debt burden upon individuals and corporations through such legislation as the farm mortgage moratorium act, various extensions of the bankruptcy laws, and the several different loan agencies and activities of the government in agriculture, industry, and home financing. Readers of former issues of *The Social Studies* will recall how widespread have been the legal attacks upon the major items of this part of the New Deal. The Supreme Court invalidated the regulation of oil marketing in the Panama Refining Company case and voided the Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Moratorium Act in the case of Louisville Joint Stock Land Bank *vs.* Radford. The Court substantially upheld the gold and monetary legislation in the five "Gold Cases." Many other cases involving the major items in this category of New Deal legislation are pending.

The second category—steps along the new lines of development forming over the last quarter century—embraces the NRA, AAA, public works, public ownership and operation of enterprises, and relief. When the Roosevelt administration took office it found a weak labor movement trying to effect a much-needed and long-delayed expansion of organization. It also found itself face to face with the next step in the long trend toward the shortening of hours, the Black thirty-hour week bill. It found Trade Associations reaching out to order and control industrial production and marketing as has been plainly evident by such cases as the American Column and Lumber Association *vs.* United States (257 U.S. 377) and the Maple Flooring Manufacturing Association *vs.* the United States (268 U.S. 563). It was forced also to observe the rising emphasis being placed on consumers' interests through the growth of coöperative organizations, consumers' leagues and similar movements. To this must also be added the almost world-wide trend toward governmental control of economic life. Whether consciously or not, the New Deal administration combined them all in the scheme of the NRA.

The objects so far as labor was concerned were to reduce hours and thereby take up the slack of unemployment, raise wages, and thus create a "floor" below which wage levels might not be pushed and provide the much-needed expansion of consumer-purchasing power, and assist labor to organize, guaranteeing to it an effective, collective-bargaining power. To industry it offered a chance to bring about the elimination of "unfair" competition on prices, quality, and other methods of competition. To this was added the social objective of the elimination of child labor and sweat-shop conditions. Government was to serve all interests in something of a partnership-supervisory character. The methods of achieving these objectives consisted of the President's re-employment agreement, the President's power to license enterprises, and the codes of fair competition numbering some seven hundred in all.

The NRA encountered enormous difficulties almost from the start. The reasons for its failure were: (1) the haste and violence of its establishment under the screams of the blue eagle; (2) the attempt to cover too wide a range; (3) a moribund labor direction which failed to grasp the opportunity held out to it; (4) a short-sighted industrial leadership which ignored the constructive side of the scheme and merely used it to curtail production, to hold up prices, to further monopolies, to permit the fixing of minimum wages as the maximum, and to resist the labor movement by refusing

collective bargaining, or setting up company unions as docile bargaining agencies; and finally (5) the action of industry and the trade associations, drunk with new-found power over production and distribution, in running riot with code regulations and assessments upon trade and industry.

In the *Schechter* decision in May 1935, the Supreme Court declared the whole scheme unconstitutional, and the structure fell. The government kept alive a skeleton organization for several months and re-enacted parts of the structure in the Wagner Labor Relations Act, the Guffey Bituminous Coal Conservation Act for the coal industry, and included several other provisions in other legislation. In general, the entire NRA scheme suffered because it was a premature effort to coördinate forces not yet grown to full maturity themselves. The future of industrial effort remains uncertain. Labor, wage, and competitive conditions are spotty. Private industry has gone back to its own efforts to organize as was indicated by the Sugar Institute case recently decided—partly in their favor and partly against them—by the Supreme Court. The country will hear more of the NRA but under other forms in the future under any administration.

The AAA attempted to get at all of the major problems of agriculture. It aimed to balance domestic production and consumption by reduced acreage and yields and thus get rid of destructive surpluses, compensate for the loss of foreign markets, and raise prices to a parity with industry to help the farmer's debt-paying power and enlarge his shrunken purchasing power. Observing that the great weakness of agriculture was its enormous number of small producing units and consequent lack of solidarity and control over its operations, the administration sought to organize the farmers through coöperatives, county organizations, and other agencies. These objectives were to be achieved by agreements to rent lands or pay benefits, agreements dealing with marketing agencies (processors), power to license processors, and the levy of processing taxes. More specific control was exercised through special devices set up with regard to dairy products, tobacco, cotton, and potatoes. This structure was supplemented by widespread credit and banking facilities and mortgage relief to farmers. In February 1935 in the *Hoosac Mills* case, the Supreme Court invalidated the entire scheme on the grounds that agriculture is a local industry beyond the power of Congress to control, and that the power of Congress to tax for the general welfare does not extend to achieve an end which is itself beyond Federal power. Professing to follow a more constitutional path the New Deal administration now seeks to continue the same scheme in substance through the medium of Federal power over soil conservation. The future in this agricultural effort is not uncertain if history is taken for a guide. Under one form or another and irrespective of the party in power the efforts to bring order, balance, organization, and control into agriculture are likely to continue.

In public works the administration has adopted the theory that in times of depression it is government alone which is capable of providing employment and thus taking up the slack created by an economy which lacks the forces within itself to adapt itself to new conditions. This theory is highly debatable and its future application is uncertain because it assumes that private enterprise will not adapt itself to new forces and changed conditions. Such a conclusion is by no means a certainty. Credit should be given to President Roosevelt who has in his speeches conceded that the public works program may be only a temporary expedient. Nevertheless, billions of dollars have been provided for the usual public works projects and those of a wide range under the supervision of the PWA. Among these are the semi-independent projects such as have

been undertaken in the Tennessee Valley and in the Columbia River region, having to do with governmental ownership and operation of electric-power enterprises. Since the Supreme Court upheld the right of the Federal Government to generate, distribute, and sell electric power when arising out of its powers to regulate navigation and provide for the national defense, these types of projects are likely to be further expanded. Moreover, such projects as these merely follow the trends of government ownership already firmly established in the past.

The relief policy of the administration goes beyond anything recorded in the past both because of the definite assumption of responsibility by government for the unemployed and the welfare of their dependents and the prodigious program set up for them through the CCC, CWA, FERA, and more recently the WPA. Such work may be curtailed by this or a different administration in the future, but it is not likely to be wholly abandoned for a long time to come. It may be supplemented in part as the Social Security program initiated by the administration increases its scope and effectiveness.

The New Deal Appraised. Summing up the entire program it may be said that the New Deal cleans some of the barnacles off of the capitalist ship, such as excess debt structure, technological obsolescences, flagrant abuses of selfishness, and greed. It maintains and bolsters up the profit system. It sought to put some order and balance into industry and agriculture. Under it, labor and the farmers have been given a chance to organize and act in concert in the furtherance of their interests. A feeble attempt to bring about a more even distribution of wealth and income has been made through taxation, relief and wage policies, and certain regulatory processes. The administration desires to bring about "abundance" or the full use of technology for the benefit of the whole people, but it either does not know how to do it, or it shrinks from the full measures it would have to take. It is perhaps fairer to say that the New Deal has gone as far in this direction as the American people as a whole will permit and support at the present stage of development. In comparison with European progress, the New Deal has made a feeble and belated entrance into the field of social security. It has advanced a step further the historical process by which public control and ownership displaces certain forms of private enterprise. It has served the need of modern complex life by withdrawing from Congress difficult and detailed administrative processes and placing them in the hands of expert commissions, a development that is world-wide. The program is neither revolutionary, capitalist, socialist, or fascist, but contains some elements of all of them which mark it as a transition government and nothing more. Above all, the program is conservative—a boon to the private owners of wealth and the means of production, a safety valve to growing mass unrest, and just a faint ray of light pointing to a more desirable and possible future which may arise in time to avoid the widespread destruction inherent in modern contradictions.

The New Deal is sharply criticized for its interference with business, its allegedly wasteful relief activities, its mounting budget deficits, and large public debt which on March 16 reached \$31,447,106,057.00, its breakdown of the former tariff structure by the reciprocal trade agreements; for the large number of unemployed estimated to be between eight and nine million in March, 1936, for its taxation activities and proposals, for the powers given to the executive and expert commissions, for its conflicts with the Constitution, for its curtailment of production, for its alleged regimentation, and finally in general because it goes too far or does not go far enough in

the legislation and activities it has sponsored and administered. All observers—supporters and critics—admit some economic improvement; the supporters give a good part of the credit for this to the New Deal; but its critics contend that such recovery as the country has had has come in spite of the New Deal. On this program and with these objections to it elaborated in great detail, the political parties and the nation will move "on to the election of 1936!"*

* Since the foreign policies of the New Deal have been considered in detail in past issues of *The Social Studies*, they have been here omitted to allow greater latitude to domestic issues. With the exception of the reciprocal trade agreements and the large army and navy programs, the foreign policies of the New Deal have been highly creditable to the nation and little criticism has been made of them by critics and foes of the administration.

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

EDUCATION FOR PEACE

During recent years students, through various organizations, have become increasingly active in demonstrations against war. In some cities, notably New York City, such agitation has filtered into the schools, much to the discomfort of school officials fearful of counter-pressure from patriotic and veterans' groups, in the form of requests for control of assembly programs or voluntary absence from classes in the form of so-called "strikes." In advance of April this year, the situation has been agitated. Superintendent Campbell, in New York City, according to *The New York Times*, March 24, has authorized principals to use their "own judgment as to the kind of exercises conducted, the time at which they are held, and their duration." In the same circular he is quoted further as follows:

... I wish to emphasize again the importance of teaching our pupils the futility, horrors and devastation of war, and the blessings and benefits of peace. Such instruction does not mean that the teaching of pacifism or non-resistance or the giving up of any rights which we hold sacred. It does not mean that our pupils shall forget that they and their parents are enjoying the full advantages of American citizenship because our forefathers held some things dearer than life itself.

Following this paragraph apparently intended to appease both the pacifist and the patriotic groups, he said further:

... peace education does mean that we should instill into the minds of pupils ideas of the brotherhood of man, respect for the institutions, manners and customs of other peoples, as well as for our own institutions, manners and customs, and an appreciation of the sanctity of human life, regardless of race, color or creed.

Superintendent Campbell may have been surprised to read a statement by James Marshall of the Board of Education in *The New York World Telegram*, March 26, in which he is quoted as saying:

A program of peace education should include discussion of the causes of war. I know no better way to teach such instruction than to use the Nye Committee report as a text. Other texts along this line could be added later. It is not enough merely to point out the horrors of war or to say that it is terrible and should be done away with. We must discuss the underlying causes.

Mr. Marshall was equally as explicit and direct with respect to pacifism, when he is quoted as having asserted, "Advocacy of pacifism as such is ridiculous."

We cite these statements not in terms of the personalities involved but because they pose a basic problem or a series of problems which must be faced realistically by all social-studies teachers who do not hide from or blink at facts. Will they be realistic enough to use in their classrooms the facts and figures revealed in the testimony before the Nye Committee? If they do, are they willing to face the possible recriminations of pressure groups more interested in the perpetuation of pleasing myths and fictions than in facing the facts realistically? In the event of such possible criticism, will their principals and superintendents, mindful of the resolutions adopted by the Department of Superintendence in February, support them fearlessly? Since for years educators have advocated pupil participation in school and community activities and have deplored so-called student indifference to contemporary events, will they reverse their position when students become so interested as to suggest and carry out activities which may arouse pressure groups? Will they use the "red bogey" as a counter-irritant and an attempted means of repudiation of such students?

ANOTHER BOOK SAVED FROM LYNCHING

In an earlier issue we cited the banning of a book from the authorized list for the high schools of New York City by the Board of Superintendents on the protest of one parent. Following a request for reconsideration by the publishers and much publicity and at least one editorial in a metropolitan newspaper condemning the action, the Social Studies Council, a central group of the heads of social-studies departments, was asked for a report on the book. Among other things, it reported that "the volume in question does not manifest bias, but is a sincere attempt to give a balanced treatment of current controversial problems."

According to *The New York World Telegram*, March 25, the Board of Superintendents reported a resolution to the committee on instruction of the Board of Education that:

In view of this report and the fact that it is practically impossible to write a book on current problems which will meet with approval from all, it is best to leave the book on the authorized list and to allow principals to order it if they desire to do so.

The Committee, in the routine of the technical procedure, has referred the resolution back to the Board of Superintendents. Thus another victory, the second in recent years in New York City, is recorded.

During recent years visitation in many schools in all sections of the United States has revealed many instances in which textbooks have been withdrawn from authorized lists because of protests by pressure groups without even informing social-studies teacher in advance of or after such action. Teachers have been afraid to make any protests; information has not been given to newspapers or else they have not regarded it as news; and usually no publicity has been given to such high-handed attempts on the part of minority groups to control textbooks, which should be a strictly professional function. On the positive side, some instances have been encountered in which the parents-teachers association has a voice in the selection of textbooks; when its committee disagrees with the choice of social-studies teachers, the lay group usually wins. In addition to confusion of equalitarianism with democracy, such situations represent, from our own point of view, an unwarranted usurpation of a professional function by a lay group.

In these days when instruction involving controversial issues is recommended by professional groups and by professional organizations of social-studies teachers, minority control of materials to be used by pupils becomes a crucial problem. We shall be glad to give full publicity to the facts in such situations in these columns; we shall also protect the teachers furnishing the facts by withholding their names when requested to do so.

MATERIALS FOR TEACHERS

Most of the articles in the December issue of *University High School Journal* deal with types of social-studies courses in the process of development in the junior and senior high schools of Oakland, California. In "An Experiment in Low-Seven Social Studies" (XIV, 88-93), Minnie E. Rogers and Julia F. Hennessey describe the introductory course in the Claremont Junior High School. Asserting that for this grade social studies "should improve the social and civic relationships of the pupil," the authors then state that "the program must focus attention on the pupil's needs as he develops and strives for a place in the life of the school" (p. 88). Having made these assumptions which imply still others, they then break down their major purpose

into ten more particularized objectives funnelled in terms of a description of the incoming pupils. Units in the course include: "(1) getting acquainted and getting organized—two weeks; (2) introducing parts to the school—two weeks; (3) learning how to live and work successfully—two weeks; (4) becoming acquainted with successful citizens—three weeks; (5) learning what health and safety have to do with success in junior high school—four weeks; (6) discovering how thrift contributes to a successful life—three weeks; (7) preparing and presenting an assembly program—two weeks; (8) introducing new students to the school—two weeks" (p. 90). A brief guidance outline for the first unit, including activities, is followed by general suggestions for correlation between the social studies and English.

In the same issue (pp. 74-78), Helen Jacobs Hunt, Vera D. Miller, and Judith Chaffey describe changes in "Revising the Curriculum in Claremont Junior High School, Oakland." In addition to the course for Low-Seventh Grade, described above, the social-studies program for Eighth Grade includes social studies-science-mathematics (described below), and history as an elective course in the ninth grade.

Anita Lassen, Adelaide Helwig, and Nellie Jaroleman, in "S(ocial Studies)-S(ience)-M(athematics)" (pp. 104-114), describe a combination course "designed to eliminate this overlapping in content and to bring social studies and science into closer relationship." Pupils are enrolled two periods per day (approximately 100 minutes—social studies, 40 minutes; science, 40 minutes; mathematics, 20 minutes) in this course which may be taught as a whole by one teacher or with different teachers dividing the assignments along lines of differentiation in content. No guidance outlines for units are included, but brief suggestions as to content are given in terms of an imaginary trip to Alaska.

In "Building a Core Curriculum" (pp. 79-87), Ruby Larson Hill, Ermyn Lucas, and Gretchen Kyne describe the courses in social studies for the tenth and eleventh grades in University High School, Oakland. The first half of the tenth grade deals with "Personal Management," organized about pupil experiences and the orientation of pupils in a new school. The second semester is concerned with "Social Living," with the course focused in terms of an understanding of "the social and biological aspects of group living in the community." The first semester of the eleventh grade deals with "The American Scene," in terms of an understanding of "the more remote social relationships in state and nation." Each course is described in general terms.

For the second semester of the eleventh grade pupils may elect courses in either social, economic, or political problems. Olive Stewart, in "Planning a Course in Social Studies" (pp. 121-127), describes briefly a course in "Social Problems 2" in terms of objectives, the selection by pupils of problems to be studied, as well as individual problems studied by pupils, together with general suggestions concerning methods.

For boys in the junior high school who have become "problems" in one or more classes, Thad W. Stevens describes "The Claremont Junior Explorers," an adjustment class organized on a flexible basis to engage in individual and group projects of interest to them.

A mimeographed pamphlet, in a revised edition, on *Political Parties and Practical Politics* is issued as a study program by the Department of Debating and Public Discussion, University of Wisconsin. Intended presumably for the guidance of the general reader, its brief outlines, lists of questions, and bibliographies will be useful for the social-studies teacher who has not made a special study of political parties. Write the Department for a list of other pamphlets dealing with the social studies.

Another study guide for the general reader, Phillips Russell and Caro Mae Russell, *Europe in Transition* (University of North Carolina Library Extension Publication, Vol. 1, No. 4, May, 1935), includes brief descriptive introductions and guidance outlines for different nations and references for further reading. There is a bibliography. Titles of pamphlets on related subjects may be obtained from the Extension Department, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

A reprint from *The Research Quarterly*, VI (March, 1935), 75-151, Wilson M. Rauck, *Guide to Sports and Outdoor Recreation: A Selected List of Books—1918 to December 31, 1934*, includes an introduction and lists of annotated titles arranged by subjects. It is an unusually complete guide to materials which will be very useful for teachers whose courses include units on recreations, and for all persons concerned with the purchase of books for libraries as well as for their own reading in line with their personal hobbies.

Teachers of courses in modern problems and related courses will find an excellent series of summaries of the problems, difficulties, and attempts at evasion of labor laws in *The Conference on Labor Law Administration*, published by the National Consumers' League, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

In *Let's Talk It Over* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. 41, 10c), Mildred J. Wiese in collaboration with Lyman Bryson and Wilbur C. Hallenbeck have provided a series of discussion techniques followed by a series of problems and issues based on each pamphlet of the issue entitled "American Primers" published last year.

In *How Communities Can Help* (U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1936, No. 18-1, Pp. 77), the first of a series of seven projected bulletins, the Committee on Youth Problems provides a survey and description of the administrative organizations in the form of coordinating councils, program activities and self-help projects and industries, and brief accounts of selected communities in terms of their accomplishments to date. There is a bibliography. Perhaps no more crucial problem than the rescue of youth from disintegration of purpose, lowered morale, and despair is faced by the American people. To date the breakdown of social organization, the failure of dominant community groups to see the enormous problem in all its ramifications, and the makeshift temporizing with the situation by the federal administration have been patent. Youth will not be ignored forever, and the American people cannot afford to put youth on the dole for long. This bulletin at least offers certain rays of hope, and may suggest to other communities that they bestir themselves to do something to prevent their basic asset from becoming a liability.

The Spring-Summer catalog, *Motion Pictures of the World and Its Peoples*, has been issued by International Educational Pictures, Inc., 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Price 35c.

ANOTHER INTEGRATED PROGRAM

The February 2 issue of *Educational Research Bulletin* (XV, 29-66) is devoted to a description of "Grades Seven to Twelve, Ohio State University School." The program for each grade is described in some detail in such a manner as to make hazardous an attempt to isolate the social-studies content from the whole program without giving wrong inferences. The entire program purports to be integrated, and social-studies content furnishes only one facet, albeit an important one, in the total picture. In the seventh grade dealing with Columbus and the University, the possibili-

ties for study were explored and planned for three weeks; then attention was centered on the home in Columbus, with the pupils divided into small groups to study industries, foods, natural resources, and housing conditions in Columbus. Operating on a schedule of social-studies, science, and English teachers working together during the morning, the afternoon is devoted to related fields and to individual and group activities begun during the morning. One individual problem was "the Italian-Ethiopian conflict and its effects on the world today."

In the eighth grade the pupils spent two weeks canvassing the possibilities of work for the quarter. "The entire group expressed an interest in the changing world with particular reference to their own community." Eight study groups were set up to study such problems as housing, transportation, standards of living, and the like, and in addition each pupil chose a phase of a problem for individual study.

After reviewing the work of the ninth grade during previous years, this year was opened with consideration of plans for the year's work, with about 300 suggestions made by pupils. A committee of four pupils and two staff members compiled a preferred list of 75 from the list of 300, and finally a list of eight, for which six study groups were formed, were selected: "study of the physical universe; study of the races of man; study of four types of government; study of the culture of four nations; study of wars and conflicts; and study of the betterment of man's life" (p. 39).

After three years of work, pupils begin to feel the need for "organized courses in science. These courses had their origin and their interpretation, through the major core of government, which is, in reality, a study of human relations" (p. 43). Thus in grades ten through twelve a rather complicated yet flexible schedule is provided in order to develop "cores" of materials, to which teachers of English, science, social studies, and other fields contribute. Rooms and laboratories for the use of eleventh and twelfth-grade pupils are grouped in one part of the building. In the twelfth grade emphasis is placed again on contemporary problems.

In a final section of "The Rôle of Subject-Matter Areas in an Integrated Curriculum," a summary statement for each area is provided. The first paragraph for Social Science is:

The quest of the modern educator is for unified experiences which will be life situations. In the social sciences the educator came somewhat nearer to ideal education when he achieved the welding of history, geography, economics, and sociology into a single whole. In the high school this unification of several related subjects has been called social science. The high-school course in social science has come increasingly to be taught as a unit, and the several subject fields of the social sciences have contributed that information necessary for the solution of social problems of vital concern to the students.

This paragraph is replete with assumptions which we should like to analyze in detail in the light of the component elements set forth earlier in the document. To do so adequately, however, would require much more space than has been given to this summary.

AMONG THE MAGAZINES

The entire April issue of *Survey Graphic* is devoted to a very useful series of articles entitled "Real Issues of 1936," over which citizens may well ponder and hold on to a base line while listening to flights of political oratory during a campaign year. From one of the series, "A Democracy's Dilemmas," by Walter Lincoln Whittlesey, of the political-science department at Princeton University, we quote as follows:

It is a commonplace criticism that nearly all grade school U.S.A. "history textbooks" are really fiction, piously written so as to fix in us a permanent hostility to Great Britain. Some have

noted that these sham histories made possible the apish corruption of the William Hale Thompson political machine in Chicago. From machine gangs to machine guns, from callow patriotism to Capone. Too few have noticed, however, that such "histories" also facilitate operating our politics and our political campaigns alike on the same blatant base of bunk. The broad harsh truth is that as we spend more money on more schools and universities, accident, crime, divorce and insanity increase. Court procedure lags behind, corruptly inadequate; machine politics take wider rootage; our entire complex set-up of governmental institutions becomes more obsolete and more rickety. We must have our education do a better job for our common political life. So far, that is not being done.

In "Developing a Modern Curriculum in a Small Town" in the March issue of *Progressive Education* (XIII, 189-197), Roberta La Brant Green describes several years of experimentation in the schools of Holton, Kansas, involving a break with a conventional curriculum and the organization of the materials about a housing program on an invitation from the town. The ways in which materials from different subject areas are funneled into the program are described. The difficulties of such a program are also set forth.

Specimen units in the social studies are included in *Recent Units in Certain High School Subjects* (Secondary Education in Virginia, No. 22; University of Virginia Record-Extension Series, Vol. XX, No. 6, January, 1936, pp. 159-192). R. E. Swindler, under the title "Recent Units in Social Science," presents in outline form the social-studies courses for Grades VIII-XI inclusive in Albermarle County, a unit in "Human Geography" entitled "Processing Raw Materials for Our Use," and another in "Problems of Citizenship" bearing the title "Tracing the Relations of Consumption, Production, and Government in the Use of Distribution of Our Wealth." Both units are organized in terms of objectives, assignments, and materials for three "achievement levels." A test is included for the second unit.

HISTORY OF LATROBE HIGH SCHOOL

A worthy history project in which many students participated even during the vacation period has been published under the title, *A Brief History of Latrobe High School* (Latrobe, Pennsylvania, 1935. Pp. 287). With an editor, three associate editors, and a large group of students working under the direction of a faculty adviser, D. L. Young, this full-length treatment of the school includes a well-rounded picture, including historical background, of the offerings, clubs, publications, and athletics at the present time. These chapters are placed in their historical setting by a series of chapters dealing with the development of Latrobe High School, the Board of Education, courses of study, enrollment, and commencements during the fifty-four years of its existence. In addition to a directory of more than 1,450 graduates, the volume also includes a faculty directory.

Superintendent J. G. Hulton in the Foreword characterizes the School as "essentially a community high school"; the compilation of a directory and facts and figures throughout the volume support his statement, and are indicative of a competent series of records and the activities of an active alumni association, with members retaining a real interest in the school. The volume is a worthy product of a School which is proud of its traditions but also sufficiently sensitive to the changing American scene to modify its practices to meet new demands. While many schools attempt to write histories of communities, this is the first full-length history of a high school which we have seen. While primarily of local interest, students of secondary education will find it useful and interesting as did the writer of this note who recalls a pleasant and profitable year as a member of the staff of the School.

FINDING LISTS FOR SOCIAL-STUDIES TEACHERS

Teachers of civics and modern problems, who wish to base their instruction on substantial content, will be interested in *Governmental Research Organizations in the Western States: A Directory of Agencies, and an Index to Their Studies*, issued in a revised mimeographed format by the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California. Publications, documents, dissertations, and reports issued by many types of organizations and by universities, with a brief identification of each organization or institution, are listed in the first 32 pages, followed by a rather detailed cross-reference index covering eighteen pages.

Suggested Instructional Material for Ninth Grade Community Civics and Twelfth Grade Sociology, prepared by Edith W. Van Sickle and Alleyne Baumgardner and planned by F. C. Hood (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, High School Visitor's Office, 1935. Pp. 83. mimeo.), is a useful finding-list and guide to publications and sources of materials of all types for courses mentioned in the title. It also includes professional books and other pedagogical aids intended primarily for teachers. Annotations for most titles are descriptive but uncritical. While apparently intended for the use of librarians as a guide to purchase and arranged accordingly, alert teachers of the social studies, especially beginning teachers in smaller secondary schools, will find the document a valuable and handy compilation of materials.

HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION FOR WOMEN STUDENTS

In *A Syllabus in the History of Civilization with Special Emphasis on the Part Played by Women* (New York City: Fieldston School, 1935. Pp. 116. mimeo.), Elizabeth H. Day and Margaret A. Koch have developed the major outlines for a course organized in terms of twenty units, ranging from primitive man to the twentieth century. Intended for students during their first year of college, the purposes of the course include the development of consciousness of one's self as a member of society, to consider objectively the rôle played by woman in history, and to create a sense of responsibility as a woman based on such understanding. The authors, on the other hand, disavow any attempt to prove contentions of feminists that the rôle of woman has been neglected and under-estimated by historians, and that after subjection women are only now securing their rights. The materials of each unit are first developed, and only then, according to the authors, is the particular emphasis and analysis suggested in the subtitle stressed in terms of the setting previously developed. Each unit contains a rather detailed guidance. Since it is expected that students will read at least 200 pages per week, minimum requirements and additional titles are included for each unit. A thirteen-page bibliography is limited to titles found useful and those available in the school library. The syllabus is unique in its attempt to present the rôle of women through world history. While not intended for secondary-school use in the more restricted sense of the term, teachers and intelligent pupils will find it suggestive as one approach, and parts of it especially usable in terms of special assignments and reports.

READING COMPREHENSION IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Joseph C. Dewey, in "A Case Study of Reading Comprehension Difficulties in American History" (*Doctoral Thesis in Education III—University of Iowa Studies in Education*, X, No. 1—pp. 26-54), reports the results obtained through test scores for about 140 eighth-grade pupils, and oral interviews with 85 of these same pupils.

He used four selections from four representative textbooks for reading by pupils and as the basis for the construction of six types of tests involving comprehension of facts and ability to draw inferences. Interviews were used later to clear up difficulties and inconsistencies revealed in the test scores; verbatim recording of these interviews made possible adequate study of pupils' replies.

Some of the conclusions are summarized here, as follows: caution is essential in the interpretation of scores on verbal and non-verbal tests, since pupils are not consistent on different types of tests on identical or similar ideas; a marked relationship between intelligence and consistency of responses to different types of tests was revealed; a larger percentage of correct responses was obtained through interviews than on written tests; verbal responses and verbal presentation as a method of teaching cannot be relied upon, but should be supplemented wherever possible by concrete materials; the teaching and measuring of reading comprehension in American history present very complex problems, probably much more difficult than many teachers realize.

DETROIT MEETING: NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

The Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies will be held at Hotel Statler, Detroit, November 27-28. Following an informal dinner of the Board on Thursday evening, the first session on Friday morning will be held jointly with state and local organizations. Sectional meetings on Friday afternoon will be devoted to curriculum problems, methods of instruction, the education of teachers, and other related topics. The dinner on Friday evening will be in honor and recognition of the founders of the National Council. Current issues in the social studies, propaganda in the schools, and the social-studies teacher in the community are some of the subjects for consideration at sectional meetings on Saturday morning. A nationally-known speaker will address the luncheon on Saturday.

Local arrangements for the meeting are in charge of C. C. Barnes, Detroit Public Schools. Inquiries and suggestions may be sent to him or to the President of the National Council for the Social Studies, R. O. Hughes, Pittsburgh Public Schools.

FORTHCOMING INSTITUTES AND CONFERENCES

The March issue of the *News Bulletin* of the Institute of International Education includes a list of forthcoming institutes and conferences which will be of interest to social-studies teachers in many sections of the country. We reprint, with acknowledgments, as follows:

American Friends Service Committee in coöperation with:

Bethel College, Kansas Institute of International Relations, Newton, Kansas. June 9-19. Sources of Friction and Sources of Control.

Duke University, Duke Institute of International Relations, Durham, North Carolina. June 8-19. Problems of Peaceful International Relations.

Grinnell College, Grinnell Institute of International Relations, Grinnell, Iowa. June 17-26. International Relations.

Mills College, Mills Institute of International Relations, Oakland, California. June 23-July 3. Current International Problems.

Northwestern University, Midwest Institute of International Relations, Evanston, Illinois. June 22-July 3. Social Struggle Toward Improved International Order and World Peace.

- Reed College, Pacific Northwest Institute of International Relations, Portland, Oregon. July 6-16. World Situation with Special Reference to Tensions in Europe and the Orient.
- Swarthmore College, Eastern Institute of International Relations, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. June 22-July 3 (tentative). Problems of Peaceful Change.
- Wellesley College, New England Institute of International Relations, Wellesley, Massachusetts. June 23-July 3. Social and Spiritual Approaches to World Peace.
- Whittier College, Whittier Institute of International Relations, Whittier, California. June 30-July 10. Spiritual and Factual Approach to World Problems and Methods of Effective Peace Work.
- Earlham College, Institute of Foreign Affairs, Richmond, Indiana. May 14-16. America's Responsibility in the Present International Crisis.
- Institute of Pacific Relations, Sixth Conference, Yosemite National Park, California. August 15-29. Aims and Results of Economic and Social Problems in Pacific Countries.
- University of Virginia, Institute of Public Affairs, Charlottesville, Virginia. July 5-18. Political, Social, and Economic Topics—National and International.
- Wellesley College, Summer Institute for Social Progress, Wellesley, Massachusetts. July 4-18. Economic Issues Behind the Campaign Headlines (Round Table on International Relations).

FOURTH CONFERENCE ON BUSINESS EDUCATION

The Fourth Conference on Business Education sponsored by the School of Business, University of Chicago, to be held June 25-26, will be centered about the theme "Business Education for Everybody." Speakers include: President Hutchins, James O. McKinsey, Franklin Bobbitt, and others. Two of the programs will be devoted to the school situations. While sessions are not open to the general public, teachers interested in the subject are invited. For further details, write the Secretary, School of Business, University of Chicago.

THE CHICAGO COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Now in its third year, The Chicago Council for the Social Studies holds regular meetings on the third Monday of each month at the Central Y.M.C.A., 19 S. LaSalle Street, usually from 5:30 to 8:30 P.M. Programs deal with subjects concerned with instruction in the social studies. Teachers in Chicago and from the greater Chicago area are invited to attend the sessions. For announcements, they may write Eunice Peter, Secretary-Treasurer, Lake View High School, or Ray Lussenhop, President, Austin High School.

The meeting on March 16 was devoted to the topic, "Teaching the City Manager Plan." Speakers included: Stewart White, Chairman of the City Manager Committee of the City Club; Dr. Henry Okner, Cook County Hospital, who has worked with young people's clubs; William Wiebe, Marshall High School, who described the use of proportional representation in school elections; Robert Keohane, University of Chicago High School, who discussed pedagogical problems in the presentation of materials dealing with the subject.

Portland Meeting, National Council for the Social Studies

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

Monday, June 29, 1936

2:00 P.M. Joint session with the Department of Secondary Education. "Recent Trends in High-School Instruction and New Curriculum Materials in the Secondary Field."

Payne Templeton, Flathead County High School, Kalispell, Montana;
Fred M. Hunter, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

3:00 P.M. "Issues in the Social Studies." Round Table Conference, National Council for the Social Studies.

Presiding: R. O. Hughes, Pittsburgh Public Schools. President, National Council for the Social Studies.

1. Shall the social studies accept conventional social-science school subjects as fundamental categories, or shall they arrange and present experiences directly related to the performance of functions in society?
2. Shall the social studies present merely organized knowledge, or shall they also assume responsibility for attitudes and ideals?
3. Shall the social studies be primarily an activity program, or shall they be handled through an organized social-science program with activities for enrichment?
4. Shall the social studies seek to enable pupils to adjust themselves to current or developing social ideals, or shall they seek the reconstruction of society?

Tuesday, June 30, 1936

2:00 P.M. Presiding: "Lacy B.openhauer, Holladay School, Portland.

"As We are Known." Panel discussion by pupils of the Portland High Schools on methods of instruction in the social studies.

"In The Looking Glass." A teacher's reaction to the panel discussion.

"Things That Worked and Things That Did Not Work." Confessions by a social-studies teacher.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

Elements of the Social Studies Program, 1936, Sixth Yearbook. The National Council for the Social Studies Department of Social Studies of the National Education Association. Philadelphia: McKinley Publishing Co. Pp. 208.

As an organization of and for social-studies teachers the National Council for the Social Studies ought to be able to produce a Yearbook clearly setting forth the *Elements of the Social Studies Program* including a specific curriculum organization. A task of this magnitude is a difficult one to be sure and because of a number of exceeding complex factors a more or less thankless one. It is doubtful whether any brief survey, such as the Yearbook, could hope to please everyone.

The Yearbook for 1936 was under the direct editorship of President of the Council, R. O. Hughes of Pittsburgh. To assist in the presentation of the *Elements of the Social Studies Program*, Hughes called upon sixteen collaborators. Testimony as to the fitness of the collaborators is to be found in the fact that of the seventeen different writers, thirteen have written textbooks in the social-studies field.

The first article, written by Daniel C. Knowlton, deals with the scope of the social studies, an historical presentation which reveals the author's preference for the segregated subjects of the curriculum. The article is followed by one written by the editor, presenting some basic considerations. The first consideration is that the social studies should be the core of the curriculum from the first grade through the twelfth. This assumption the author would establish by arranging the social-studies program so as to: (1) arouse pupil interest; (2) adapt material to pupil needs; (3) evaluate and teach worthwhile subject matter. The most important factor in achieving these ends is the teacher, for "the way the teacher conducts the class is far more significant in arousing or killing a pupil's interest than the arrangement of topics." While this is consistent with the three-point objective in child development just cited the author's next question makes a serious qualification.

"How much," he asks, "does the fifth-grade child care whether he begins his study of United States Geography with California or New England?" There is very little to be said in reply to this question, except that it does not present the real problem. The real question, according to the principles Hughes, himself, establishes, is whether or not the fifth grade child is interested in geography at all. Unless this question is considered, in its broadcast form, very little adaptation of subject matter can be made beyond increasing or decreasing subject matter, the importance of which is by no means proven. When Hughes defines history as merely the narrative of facts of individuals or groups, and implies that it is easy to teach to fifth-grade pupils, it is not too much to assume that he has in mind the valueless memorization of facts that has so long masqueraded as a history course. In the light of the principles set forth such a course can not be justified.

Dr. Hughes' next principle holds that "the social studies should be looked upon as closely interrelated and each constantly drawn upon to enliven and enlighten the others." Teachers are probably in general agreement with such a principle and a program which applies it is deserving of universal support.

Turning to advocates of special subject matter and special method, the materials from which a social-studies course can be constructed is revealed. There will remain then only the application of the principles and the selection of the subject matter to establish a proposed curriculum.

The contributors to the special subject matter are students and see clearly the limitations of their particular field of interest as well as its contribution, for almost all of them point out the relations of their field to the others.

Dr. Wilson, admitting the inadequacy of American history courses as handled in the past, points out three needs. One is the re-analysis of American history for high-school teaching; another points the way to elimination of overlapping and idle repetition; and a third calls for a revision of method so that intellectual interest may not be stifled.

The two considerations involved in the analysis of subject matter have to do with the product of advancing historical scholarship and with the "relentless trends and drives of social existence." So long as American history courses are posited on the exclusive use of a textbook, little advance can be expected, for Wilson points out that, "a new point of view rarely enters a textbook within five or eight years after it is proposed, and is not widely distributed in school curriculums in less than two decades after its origin."

As a means of organizing subject matter, this author proposes a "curriculum as a series of units, each unit the subject matter embodiment of a single theme or concept."

Miss Gibbons early establishes the thesis that to achieve the most important outcome of the study of world history, which is world-mindedness, it is necessary in each grade to bring pupils in contact with past or current world affairs that aid in establishing permanently this valuable attitude of mind.

To attain this end, the study of history in blocks—such as ancient, medieval, and modern—is rejected in favor of "either a formal topical-chronological course or a presentation of the materials of world history in units or parts of units wherever pupil interest or the need to understand a particular historical background indicates such presentation." A few lines further Miss Gibbons indicates that the present trend is toward the second suggestion. "The fusion method of weaving world history, civics, and geography together shows signs of growing popularity."

Mr. Stull, in presenting the values for geography, denies that it can be taught along with other social subjects. He adheres to the position which geographers have advanced over a long period, yet his advocacy of geography does not claim the value of the subject for its own sake. Instead, he points out that geography illuminates history, literature, art, philosophy, religion, and in his type case, the geography of Japan, he presents a unit which is practically the fusion of all the social subjects, employing history, sociology, economics, and omitting only reference to structural government.

It is difficult to reconcile the contention that geography must be a course apart from other social subjects in view of the application made in the study of Japan.

"Civics," according to Ashley, "is not primarily a matter of materials but is distinctly subjective." Nor does Ashley mean merely subjective methods for "the very best subjective teaching fails to 'arrive' if the materials considered in class discussion are absolutely and definitely objective in type or character." The material content itself must be "vitally important to the student's understanding of American citizenship . . . or vitally valuable both in training for citizenship and in fitting young people for their place as members of the American public." These ends cannot be achieved by binding the class procedure to a textbook, a practice which has "sharp limitations." Rather the teacher must determine an order of presentation of subject matter in the form of learning units. This probably means integration in the better

sense of the word; integration "in the understanding and the training of the student rather than in the courses presented."

Mr. Ashley, however, does not advocate the exchange of free opinion in a point-less class discussion. "Better get a body of facts that make for understanding than gather huge quantities of opinions that add nothing to the understanding of a subject or the growth of the students, individually or as a group." Teachers must be prepared to deal with questions of civic relations in broad interpretations and must exercise care to guide the learning opportunity every class should afford along lines of profitable understanding.

Dr. Stephenson summarizes the aims of secondary school economics instruction as leading pupils "to form correct judgments on economic questions in order that a sound public policy with reference to these questions may result." It is obvious that such an end cannot be attained by merely studying economic theory that is never applied by the students. Economics is valuable only when it aids in "forming correct judgments and sound public policy."

Sociology is, to Miss Gavian, the most important core subject. She is critical of the tendency to divide a year's work into sociology and economics as artificial. The significance of her treatment is that very few topics considered in the social-studies course are without implications of a social character, and therefore sociology must be called upon far more than in a petty half-year course. To show the broad character of her subject the author sets forth the sociological elements to be emphasized and the teacher qualifications for handling the material.

One of the most suggestive essays is that written by Barnard on the subject of Problems Courses. After defining problem, this author sets forth "some guiding ideas," each one of which is suggestive and valuable. While Barnard is writing in advocacy of a special course called a problems course, his guiding ideas are applicable whenever social studies consist of material capable of being understood rather than merely memorized. Last and most important of his guides is the emphasis upon making the problems meaningful and pertinent to living, with a reminder that "Content is as indispensable for the teacher as technique."

Dr. Tryon, in advocating the teaching of local and state history, recommends that it be included as a part of other civic and historical studies.

Gathany and Fraser offer practical and very suggestive advice on the handling of current events and current questions in connection with the social-studies program. In their program "the major questions of today would not be considered apart from the major questions of yesterday." Current Events should be used "whenever the great drama of man is revealed to the student," hence every social study should have a current implication and the time for the consideration of events of today is whenever a subject is taken up. "If he (the pupil) is studying agrarian problems of the past, this morning's paper contains the latest sequel. . . . To teach current events . . . apart from allied social studies; to allow five or ten minutes a day to the study of current events; to give over one class period a week to them—all such attempts at the teaching of contemporary history may be regarded as ineffective."

The authors advocating an activity program in the social studies assume that such a program would be organized as "units of experience" rather than areas of subject matter all too often memorized without understanding. "Since 'units of experience' cut across such conventional boundaries as geography, history, civics, economics, and sociology, there is probably little need at the elementary and secondary levels to or-

ganize the content of the social-studies curriculum into special fields, although it is very likely that in successive levels various emphasis may be given." The general manner in which the activities may be handled is indicated.

Anderson and Hill present a program for the correlation of social studies and other subjects with particular emphasis on social studies and English.

After reading each of the foregoing articles, some general conclusions can be expressed as follows:

1. The social-studies program in the public schools has, and is being steadily, increased.
2. The social-studies program should be the core of the curriculum for every child every year, aiming to develop "correct appreciations, understanding, and attitudes" by presenting content material "closely interrelated."
3. American history as a subject must be reappraised, apart from present curricula or textbooks, with a due consideration for the class articulation, "the civics work of grade IX and modern problems or modern institutions work in grade XII."
4. World history, as a means of developing world-mindedness and scientific thinking, cannot be a mere one-year course presenting a selection of facts apt to be memorized without understanding, instead of a world-history course emphasized and reemphasized from time to time throughout the school years.
5. A civics program is effective only when predicated upon actual social relations, the understanding of which is the objective major of social-studies instruction.
6. Improved instruction, by better trained teachers, using more adequate materials is the essential requirement of a comprehensive understanding of economics.
7. Sociology is a major part of any adequate social-studies program.
8. The study of social problems as a means of organizing content is practical and worthwhile.
9. Current events should be a constant factor in the entire program.
10. An activity program is an effective technique to be employed by social-studies teachers.
11. The correlation of social studies and other subjects (particularly English) is highly desirable.

With these general conclusions upon which to predicate a curriculum it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to understand the proposed course of study outlined in the concluding article of the Yearbook. This proposed course of study is neither new nor different. It is merely a reiteration of the social-studies program now in operation in several populous states and is absolutely unconnected with the principles outlined by the articles of the yearbook with the possible exception of Stull.

DONNAL V. SMITH

State Department of Education, Albany, New York

The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890-1902. By William L. Langer. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1935. 2 vols. Pp. 797, xxii. \$7.50.

In these two moderately long and easily readable volumes, Langer of Harvard University has carried further the superb history of pre-war international relations which was inaugurated with the publication (1931) of his *European Alliances and Alignments, 1871-1890*. With painstaking care and remarkable learning he has analyzed and evaluated the available documents, memoirs, periodical sources, and secondary works of a dozen countries. Problem after puzzling problem is neatly traced to its origins; shrewd and enlightening interpretations are skilfully interwoven with ob-

jective factual expositions; judicious and convenient summaries add immeasurably to the value of each chapter.

Without becoming technical, the volumes thoroughly explore the intricacies of the pre-war alliance building, the motives and methods of imperialistic expansion, the ramifications of the Near Eastern and Far Eastern questions, the quarrels and settlements attendant upon the partitioning of Africa, the growing Anglo-German commercial and naval rivalries, and the increasing importance of Japan in international affairs. Of especial current interest, in view of the present Ethiopian crisis, is the author's stress upon the importance of the Nile River as a focus of the Great Powers' African relations after 1889. "More than perhaps any other great international problem in the pre-war period," says the author, "this question of the control of the Nile had the quality of an epic."

It is fascinating to ponder some of the general conclusions reached by Langer at the end of his study. "The most striking thing about international relations in this period," he says, "is the extraordinary complexity." There appeared to be neither straightforward development nor logical system—the reasons being (a) the breach made in the Bismarckian scheme by the dropping of the German-Russian Re-insurance Treaty and the eventual consequent division of the Continent into two opposing alliance systems, and (b) the expansion of the field of diplomacy from the European to a world-wide plane. For a proper understanding of the diplomacy of these years, moreover, it seems necessary, to Langer, to center attention upon British policy, "firstly, because neither the Triple Alliance nor the Franco-Russian Alliance could upset the balance of power on the Continent in its own favor without the accession and support of England; secondly, because the European nations when they turned to world affairs were confronted with a situation in which England easily played the most prominent rôle." And in playing her rôle, Great Britain, with a unique "singleness of policy" regardless of which party was in control, was "interested less in the balance of power than in the maintenance of peace."

In view of Germany's remarkable industrial rise during the second half of the nineteenth century, "it is hard to see how (she) could have avoided colliding with England. The shock might have been eased here and there, but the collision of economic interests was inevitable." Though the French and Russians were also rivals of the British in the colonial field, they were not serious competitors in the matters of trade and naval strength. Russia, incidentally, was, in these years, "the main element of uncertainty." William II believed that he had considerable influence over his Russian cousin, but the latter "was little more than the puppet of his ministers." Perhaps the greatest lack of the age was the absence of Bismarck. "It would be too much to expect a Bismarck in every generation. But in this period a statesman of the highest caliber was needed perhaps more than ever, for it must not be forgotten that international relations were developing to a state of chronic tension." Such are a few of the main themes developed in these two arresting volumes.

The utility and enjoyability of the work is enhanced by the inclusion of "thumbnail" biographical sketches of the leading participants in the drama of world policy and of twenty-two clear, black-and-white maps. There are useful, critical bibliographies at the close of each chapter. It is to be hoped that additional volumes may soon carry the story through the next and more fateful dozen years.

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM

Columbia University

A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe. Volume II: A Century of Predominantly Industrial Society, 1830-1935. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. New York: Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. xiv, 1215. \$4.50.

With the completion of the second volume of his *History of Modern Europe*, Carlton J. H. Hayes has stated once again his faith in the broadly catholic character of history. His earlier *Political and Social History* has become a *Political and Cultural History*, and it now reaches out to embrace, within the confines of twelve hundred pages, all the manifold activities of man in the century after 1830. How has Hayes succeeded in this ambitious and difficult task?

A reviewer, we take it, should pass judgment on a book in terms of the aims of the author and the complexity of his task. No one can pretend to omniscience in writing a book of such proportions, and the mere enumeration of material errors would be an ungrateful and irrelevant task. This book is intended as an introduction to the period for college and mature secondary-school students and for the general reader. It should, therefore, be considered in the light of its usefulness for this range of readers.

For convenience it may be said that the book has two aspects: first, the more strictly "political" and "social" history of the period, based in general on Hayes' earlier book (whose character and organization are well known to teachers of history); second, the "cultural" history of the period, which, has so to speak, been super-added.

The first aspect of the book has been very materially altered. The author warns us in his foreword that "the World War and its aftermath have profoundly altered our perspective. We now see the nineteenth century not only as an auspicious season for the fruition of liberal aspirations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but also as an ominous seed-time for the disquieting realities of the present day" (p. v). This new perspective is reflected in many freshly rewritten passages and to a very considerable extent in the tone of the book as a whole. This part of the book has also been enlarged to include comprehensive treatment of post-war developments, up through the early phases of the present Italian campaign in Ethiopia. These additions may well prove to be among the most useful in the book. Hayes has also placed his earlier narrative in the larger setting of more general sections introductory to the different chapters, such as that on "The Latin Tradition" which opens the chapter on "Latin Europe." It is here, and in general in his political narrative and in the description of such phenomena as "nationalism," that the author is at his best. The narrative swings along in a crisp, lucid style, and the reader is carried with it. The political narrative is accompanied by a well conceived and well executed series of maps by T. H. Thomas, some of which deal with subjects of unusual interest, notably the comparative maps of the railway network in 1848 and 1877, and successive maps of "Germany" in 1771, 1815-66, 1871-1918, and 1935.

This brings us to the "cultural" aspect of the book. It should be said at the outset that the interest of this part of the book is much enhanced by a generous and felicitous selection of illustrations, which offer a wide view of the history of painting and sculpture during the century under consideration. There is, we presume, inherent in the conception of "cultural history" an underlying assumption that the elements of a given "culture" are interrelated. This assumption is betrayed by the historian's use of terms like *Zeitgeist*. In short, we must offer some excuse for considering such seemingly disparate figures as Rimsky-Korsakov, Van Gogh, and Pirandello within the confines of the same chapter. Hayes does this very thing, and his excuse is that all

three are "realists." Indeed the "culture" of the whole century after 1830 is described as successively "romantic," "realistic," and "chaotic," the latter term being applied to the development of the post-war period ("Art in the Age of Disillusionment has been symptomatically revolutionary and chaotic" [p. 1136]).

At the beginning of his chapter on "Romanticism and Nationalism," Hayes defines the term "romanticism." Many will not agree with his definition, but in any event we have here a conceptual framework into which we assume the author will build his cultural story, justifying the use of each new element in that story by showing its relationship to the larger whole. We assume, in short, that no elements will be introduced which are not relevant to the story and that relevance will be demonstrated in each instance.

We are grievously disappointed. Having defined "romanticism," Hayes deserts the framework which it offers and swims in a sea of names and titles. Why some literary figures are named at all is not clear from the text, and the connection of others with "romanticism" is only in the vaguest way apparent.

"Realism" is also defined. But the long chapter on "Art and Religion in the Era of Realism" leaves us without any clear-cut notions as to what the various tendencies are to which the author believes the term "realist" should be applied. One wonders if a few well chosen passages from representative "realists" would not bring home more forcefully the meaning of this term than do innumerable brief characterizations. We are not certain that it will be helpful for the reader, more especially the secondary-school reader, to be told that:

Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) devoted his talents mainly to studies of the fateful workings of the "struggle for existence" in village and peasant life in the English countryside. His principal novels, such as *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886) and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891) are concerned not with civilization or manners but with animal aspects of human life; and his poetry, which is now esteemed more highly than his prose, shows the same concern (pp. 387-388).

Luigi Pirandello (born 1867) was wholly realist. A Sicilian, he took a doctorate at the German University of Bonn in the 1890's, and then, while teaching in a "progressive" girl's school at Rome, gave vent to the most bitter "realism" in verse, in some famous novels, and eventually in plays, of which he was a master mechanic. To him, there could be "no faith in the absolute, in objectivity, in any fixed thing outside individual personality." Everything was fated, and fate was ferocious (p. 390).

Another distinguished French sculptor, Alexandre Falguière (1831-1900), fashioned a florid *Triumph of the Republic* (1881-1886) for the Arch of Triumph at Paris and notable "baroque" memorials to Lamartine, to Balzac, to Joan of Arc, to Lafayette (in Washington, D.C.). His chief distinction, however, was in the modelling of nude women (p. 411).

These passages all appear in the same chapter on realism. They represent all that we are told of the men in question. In conclusion, we may say that Hayes has given us a book in which the chapters on political and social development measure up to the promise of his earlier book but in which the sections on more purely "cultural history" reveal a methodology imperfectly articulated and indifferently executed. Dr. Hayes' book raises also the larger question as to whether the recent tendency to expand such general introductory works to include "all history" is desirable. There is the problem, first, as to whether a general, all-embracing "pattern" can be found, a pattern within which the complex activities of men can be described. And there is the further question of whether it is even possible to describe in any helpful way for the layman such problems as those involved in the findings of an Einstein or the convolutions of a Pareto.

DONALD C. MCKAY

Harvard University

A History of Pennsylvania. By Wayland Fuller Dunaway. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1935. Pp. xxiv, 828. \$5.00.

Out of years of rich experience in teaching and research in the history of his own state, Dunaway of Pennsylvania State College has produced the first scientific and comprehensive single-volume history of Pennsylvania that has ever been written. Probably no other educator was better qualified to do this job. The book is divided into two equal parts: one on the "Colonial Period (1609-1790)," and the other on the "History of the Commonwealth since 1790." Political history takes up half of the pages. The rest are devoted to the following subjects: population, land and labor, agriculture, manufactures, mineral industries, transportation and trade, social life, religion, education, and arts and sciences.

The book is an admirable text for the high-school course in the history of Pennsylvania. Grammar-school teachers will find that it fills a long felt need in assisting them to know and transmit to their students the history of the Keystone state. Each chapter is equipped with an up-to-date selected bibliography that will help enterprising teachers to build on the author's foundations. From William Penn to Governor George H. Earle, the leaders of Pennsylvania's political life pass across the stage of history. The panorama of historical development in state politics, agriculture, industry, transportation, education, and religion set within a frame of familiar personalities and geographical terms should enable the skillful teacher to help children to discover the relationship of it all to their own homes and communities and thus possibly lure them to an interest in more distant historical horizons. Although the point of view is local, the relation to larger events and patterns is handled with good judgment. Controversial subjects are treated with surprising fairness. There is no smart-aleck debunking, flag-waving, or excessive hero-worship.

The main fault from the teachers' and students' point of view is the lack of illustrations. The five solemn portraits and the five very informative maps are not enough. The style of writing is not sufficiently enticing or the format attractive enough to win the interest of all types of readers. To follow the history of Pennsylvania's great mineral industries, for example, from the establishments of colonial times to the great complexity of twentieth-century mining without the aid of a picture of a mule, a miner, a coal car, an oil drill, or a coke furnace is a severe tax on many readers, especially when the author does not choose to regale them with the Legend of the Hounds.

The reviewer would also take issue with the author on the matter of proportions. It does not seem defensible to treat the period before 1790 in which the population attained the figure of 434,373 in the same number of pages as the period since that date when the population reached 9,631,350. The mysteries of recent times call more loudly for understanding than do those of colonial times. Moreover, the political history which occupies half the book is almost entirely of the colonial and state government with no reference to city, county, and town units. The fact that only twenty-one per cent of the total taxes paid in the state in 1931 went to the state and over fifty per cent went to the more local units indicates that there is a large field of political action that deserves more historical analysis. The work on Pittsburgh and Philadelphia done by Lincoln Steffens (not mentioned in the book) indicates what can be done. The fact that one of the greatest problems confronting Pennsylvania today is that of the simplification of local government (not mentioned in the book), which is proving to be such a hard nut to crack for a joint legislative investigation committee, indicates how well local historians in the past have avoided the question. The reviewer would

also question the author's choice in failing to include a chapter on social life and customs since 1790, after having included one for the colonial period.

It is easier for a reviewer to make these criticisms than for a score of reviewers to turn author and supply the lack. Dunaway's book will long remain the standard single-volume history of Pennsylvania.

RANDOLPH C. DOWNES

University of Pittsburgh

Memorandum on the Teaching of Geography. Issued by in the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools of England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. London: George Philip & Sons, Ltd., 1935. Pp. xvi, 418. 7/6.

In 1905, the British Board of Education published *Suggestions on the Teaching of Geography in Public Elementary Schools*, but they had issued little material dealing with the teaching of geography in secondary schools. The Memorandum under review supplies that deficiency. It is an excellent discussion on the teaching of geography in the secondary schools of England, Wales, and Northern Ireland which may be highly recommended to the American student. In fact, we do not have anything in American geographical literature which can be compared with its valuable suggestions for the secondary-school geography teacher.

A glance at the table of contents will reveal the scope of this authoritative report. The position of geography in the educational program, the curriculum, teaching methods, geographical equipment, modern tests, and geography in its relationship to general culture receive adequate treatment. There is even some consideration given to the training of teachers, the usefulness of geography in after-school life, and the various sources from which geographical materials may be secured.

In the schools of the United States, geography has an important place in the elementary curriculum but has been sadly neglected in the secondary schools. On the contrary, in the secondary schools of England, Wales, and Northern Ireland geography appears to be more important than it is in the elementary schools. Geography is offered in every grade of what would correspond to our junior and senior high school. Furthermore, this appears to be a decidedly humanized type of geography, with natural environmental factors playing their proper rôles.

Typical quotations are as follows: "Geography has thus risen to a position of the utmost importance in the curriculum, and no secondary-school course can be regarded as complete or properly balanced unless adequate provision is made for the subject up to and including preparation for the school certificate examination"; "It is this function of geography as a unifying science that constitutes its claim to hold an honored place in our curriculum"; "Geography by its subject matter is allied, on the one hand, to the natural sciences and, on the other, to such humanistic studies as history and economics, between which, indeed, it forms a sort of natural link"; "It is the opinion of this committee, therefore, that geography teachers will have failed in their teaching if they do not succeed in training good citizens in the widest sense of the term, and that they should be conscious of this aim at every stage of the course"; "Unfortunately, it is not generally recognized that a knowledge of geography is a necessary preliminary to the solution of many of the urgent problems which affect political and economic development throughout the world."

The book is well-indexed. It deserves a place in every teachers-college library and

in the library of every individual interested in the advancement of educational geography.

Teachers College

DEFOREST STULL

History of the State of New York: Vol. VII, Modern Party Battles; Vol. VIII, Wealth and Commonwealth. Edited by Alexander C. Flick. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935. Pp. xiv, 385; xiv, 381. \$5.00 each.

The two latest volumes of the *History of the State of New York* continue the high standard of the preceding volumes. The seventh is almost wholly devoted to the political history of the state since 1850, beginning with an extensive survey of immigration. These chapters describe the distribution of the flood of foreign population which was settling in the Empire state with ever-increasing numbers and which was to enlarge the franchise so materially. Most of the remainder of the volume deals with the complex story of state politics. The intricacies of the factions of the Democrats in the days of hard shells and soft shells, barnburners and hunkers occupy many a page, followed by the story of the egregious plunder of Tweed and the Tammany régime. The later story of the Republican epoch is less spectacular, but Al Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt revived the picturesque quality of New York politics when they brought the Democracy back into power fighting for the cause of social reform. There is a chapter on constitutional developments, and the two final chapters show New York State in the World War.

The eighth volume tells a less familiar story. *Wealth and Commonwealth* has a series of chapters on economic and social progress which represent pioneer work in the field. A survey of upstate cities and villages, and histories of agriculture, banking, and the commerce of the port of New York continue a consideration of topics begun in earlier volumes. The two chapters on public utilities and their regulation represent new tendencies of very particular moment at the present time. Three final chapters discuss recent developments in public and private charity and the women's movement.

These volumes have the virtues and the faults of their predecessors. The virtues are able scholarship, skillful editing, comprehensive treatment, and excellent book making. The faults are the inevitable ones of coöperative work. All the contributors do not view their tasks in the same light. The topics are of necessity not as closely related or integrated, and the element of synthesis which would be more likely in the work of one man is lacking. These books like their predecessors will make excellent collateral reading in history and government and they will add much to the student's grasp of current problems. The final two volumes are to be awaited expectantly.

ROY F. NICHOLS

University of Pennsylvania

The Social Studies Curriculum: Fourteenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence. By the Commission on the Social Studies Curriculum. Washington, D.C.: Department of Superintendence, 1936. Pp. 478. \$2.00.

Developed by a Commission of eleven members including superintendents, professors of education, curriculum directors, and two persons in the social sciences, this Yearbook is another survey of various aspects of the social-studies curriculum and the forces conditioning it, intended presumably to orient and to inform members of the Department. The first part dealing with factors conditioning social-studies instruction includes two useful chapters on the relationships between society, education, and the

school, followed by a concise treatment of "The Nature of the Learner and the Learning Process." Subjects discussed in successive chapters in the second part are status and trends; the social-studies program as a whole; selection, organization, and grades placement of content; the preparation of curriculum materials; and the utilization of community resources. The third part deals with classroom technics, evaluation of outcomes, and continuous curriculum revision.

Following the general patterns of other yearbooks in the series, this document includes copious excerpts from courses of study, summaries and lists of pertinent published and unpublished experiments and investigations, and suggestions for next steps. As would be expected, the chapters vary considerably in quality and in penetration. The Commission succeeded only in part in overcoming the ever-present difficulty of the coördination of the materials into a balanced view. It accepted, perhaps too uncritically, the popular current dogma of "continuous curriculum revision"; this chapter, one of the weakest in the volume, once again reveals the difference between an inward view of the social studies projected outward upon the contemporary scene and a general view of the contemporary scene drawing upon social-studies content needed to "explain" that view. The list of "guiding principles" in this chapter, consisting in part of commonplace statements, unanalyzed assumptions, and controversial issues, will hardly be acceptable to many intellectually-sophisticated social-studies teachers.

Intended primarily for superintendents and administrators, this Yearbook compares favorably with earlier titles in the series. It will also be a useful addition to the library of social-studies teachers, but competently-educated teachers of considerable experience will find little that is new in it.

The Lost Generation: A Portrait of American Youth Today. By Maxine Davis. New York: Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. xii, 385. \$2.50.

On the basis of a trip of more than 10,000 miles into all regions of the United States, the author reports her observations, interviews with youth from all social classes and all levels of intelligence on the situations in which they find themselves with respect to work and play, love and liquor, matrimony and the substitutes therefor, and a host of other subjects which are receiving the attention of youth during the depression years. It is an illuminating and often devastating picture of thwarted purposes, blind hopes, and broken morale, shot through, at times, with flashes of insight, a sophisticated outlook, and boundless courage. Throughout there is evidence of the breakdown of social organization and a lack of resourcefulness and ingenuity on the part of adult society, with youth "taking the rap." So much rich and significant material cannot be summarized briefly, especially since the book is not well organized. Although the author lays claim only to capable reporting, the book reveals her insight and sense of humor; she also succeeds in weaving into her presentation apt summaries of basic materials gathered by herself and others. No one working with youth, least of all social-studies teachers, can afford not to read and reflect on this volume. Along with James Rorty's *Where Life Is Better* (New York: John Day Co., 1936), it presents a frightening challenge to those in positions of power and influence; unless they meet it in a forthright manner, all of us will probably pay the penalty in the decades to come.

Current Publications Received

HISTORY

- Becker, Carl L. *Progress and Power*. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1936. Pp. xi, 102. \$1.50.
- Cole, Cyrenus. *I Remember, I Remember*. Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1936. Pp. 543.
- Kellogg, Louise Phelps. *British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1936. Pp. xvii, 361. \$2.50.
- Slocombe, George. *Don John of Austria*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936. Pp. 372. \$3.50.
- Webb, Walter Prescott. *The Great Plains*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936. Pp. xv, 525. \$5.00.

ECONOMICS

- Clark, Harold F. *An introduction to Economic Problems*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. xv, 271. \$1.75.

SOCIOLOGY

- Breck, Flora E. *Jobs for the Perplexed*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1936. Pp. viii, 155. \$1.00.
- Dratler, Jay. *Manhattan Side Street*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1936. Pp. 378. \$2.50.
- Fagin, N. Bryllion, ed. *America Through the Short Story*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1936. Pp. ix, 508. \$1.75.
- Gillis, Adolph and Ketchum, Roland. *Our America*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1936. Pp. xxviii, 428. \$1.28.
- Schrieke, B. *Alien Americans. A Study of Race Relations*. New York: Viking Press, 1936. Pp. xi, 208. \$2.50.
- Whitney, Albert W., ed. *Man And The Motor Car (Educational Series, Vol. X)*. New York: National Bureau of Casualty and Insurance Underwriters, 1936. Pp. xvi, 256. \$1.00.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT

- Duggan, Stephen. *Latin America (World Affairs Books, No. 15)*. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1936. Pp. 65. 75c.
- Goslin, Ryllis Alexander, ed. *Dictatorship (Headline Books No. 3)*. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1936. Pp. 38. 35c.
- Stone, William T. *Peace in Party Platforms (Headline Books No. 4)*. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1936. Pp. 38. 35c; 25c in paper cover.

EDUCATION

- Bolzau, Emma L. *Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps*. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Science Press, 1936. Pp. xi, 534.
- The Department of Superintendence, *The Social-Studies Curriculum. Fourteenth Yearbook*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1936. Pp. 478. \$2.00.
- Draper, Edgar Marion. *Principles and Techniques of Curriculum Making*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936. Pp. xv, 875. \$3.25.
- Hedrick, Elinor and Van Noy, Kathryn (drawings by Bunji Tagawa). *Kites and Kimonos. A reader for the third and fourth grades*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. vi, 255. 84c.

SECONDARY-SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

- Coyle, L. S. and Evans, W. P. *Our American Heritage*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936. Pp. xviii, 717. \$1.80.

Greenan, John T. and Cottrell, H. Louise. *From Then Until Now. Old Work Background of Civilization.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936. Pp. xix, 421. \$1.36.

Halter, Helen. *Society in Action. A Guide for the Social Studies. A text for grades seven through nine.* New York: Inor Publishing Co., 1936. Pp. x, 336. \$1.66.

Seary, V. P. and Patterson, Gilbert. *The Story of Civilization.* Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1934. Pp. viii, 722. \$1.50.

RELIGION

Trice, Allison N. and Roberson, Charles H. *Bible vs. Modernism.* Nashville: Rock City Publishing Co., 1935. Pp. 290, xxvii.

MATERIAL IN PAPER COVER

HISTORY

Waite, Carleton Frederick. *Some Elements of International Military Co-operation in The Suppression of the 1900 Antiforeign Rising in China with Special Reference to the Forces of the United States.* Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1935. Pp. 52.

ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

Fenton, Norman, ed. *The Delinquent Boy and The Correctional School.* Claremont Colleges Library: Claremont Colleges Guidance Center, 1935. Pp. 182. \$1.50; \$2.00 in cloth.

Lamb, Beatrice Pitney. *Government and The Consumer.* Washington, D.C.: National League of Women Voters, 1935. Pp. 51. 25c.

University of Minnesota Conference, *Prospects for Inflation (Day and Hour Series of the University of Minnesota, No. 13),* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936. Pp. 32. 25c.

Social Security Board, *The Social Security Act: A Brief Explanation of Its Provisions.* Washington, D.C.: Social Security Board, March, 1936. Pp. 16.

Social Security Board, *Draft Bills for State Unemployment Compensation of Pooled Fund and Employer Reserve Account Types.* Washington, D.C.: Social Security Board, January, 1936. Pp. 53.

GOVERNMENT

Barnes, William R., ed. *The Constitution of the United States.* New York: Barnes & Noble, 1936. Pp. 44. 25c.

Laidler, Harry W. "Putting the Constitution to Work," *New Frontiers*, IV (April, 1936). New York (112 East 19th Street): League for Industrial Democracy. Pp. 40. 25c; \$2.50 a year.

WORKBOOKS AND ENCYCLOPEDIA

Barnes, Charles C. *Directive Study Sheets in High-School Civics.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935. Pp. xi, 114. 36c.

Hammerton, Sir John, ed. *Encyclopedia of Modern Knowledge.* London: Amalgamated Press, Ltd., 1936. Pp. 108. 1/2 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Mullen, Sarah McLean. *How to Judge Motion Pictures, and How to Organize A Photoplay Club.* Revised Edition. Pittsburgh (Chamber of Commerce Building): Scholastic Publications, 1936. Pp. 62. 25c.